READING FORESTS:

CONTESTED IDEOLOGIES AND FOREST USE IN BRITISH COLUMBIA

by

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Abstract

This thesis examines the interconnection between existence, culture, and ecology. Taking an interdisciplinary approach, I tie together anthropological discussions of culture, French Philosophy, and forestry with locally inspired narratives. Specifically, I examine Brian Fawcett's Virtual Clearcut: The Way Things Are in My Hometown and Des Kennedy's The Garden Club and the Kumquot Campaign, a 'testimonial documentary' and a novel respectively. Both narratives illustrate local connections, histories, interpretations, and contentions concerning forest use through a central theme of logging. The narratives reflect the Romantic literary tradition of the pastoral, while focusing on ecocentric considerations. Overall, by drawing from Felix Guattari's ecosophy I avoid favouring anthropocentric or biocentric tendencies, thus acknowledging the importance of the role of subjectivity and multiplicity in ecological debates, which allows me to conclude that debates concerning forest use can no longer be polarized.

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Introduction

British Columbians and their Forests

For many British Columbians culture and identity are interconnected with topography. In British Columbia, roughly 64.1 million hectares of land is forested, accounting for almost 70 percent of the province's total land (Natural Resources Canada). In 2003, British Columbia's forests generated 12.6 billion dollars in revenue, with an allowable harvest of two hundred thousand hectares. Forestry accounts for 14 percent of British Columbia's employment and 15 percent of the province's economic activity (State of BC's Forests). Logging in British Columbia is restricted to chosen areas, and 12 million hectares are set aside as protected land, which equals 12.5 percent of the provincial land base (Natural Resources Canada). The protected forests of British Columbia include 826 parks, and 90 percent of British Columbians have visited one or more these spaces (BC Parks Statistics). British Columbia's forests, therefore, can be seen as influencing local cultures in two primary ways, through resource extraction and through recreation.

Defining Culture

For the purpose of this thesis, culture will be defined using arguments presented by the theorists Clifford Geertz, Sherry Ortner, John M. Wise, and Akhil Gupta and James Ferguson. Culture in the Geertzian sense, is how a group of people come to understand their world through "webs of significance," which can be thought of as a symbolic system of communication (Geertz 1975); John M. Wise takes the Geertzian understanding of culture and adds a Deleuzian interpretation to further illustrate how

and/or why cultures differ, stating that it is "the expression of an aggregate of texts, objects, words, and ideas, their effects, meanings and uses. One culture differs from another by territorializing differently" (Wise 300). However, as Gupta and Ferguson argue, cultures are fragmented (ix). Yet Sherry Ortner's discussions of practice theory can help reconcile this understanding of culture. Ortner suggests that there is a loosely structured system, which can be thought of as presenting a macro-culture, (e.g. Canadian or western culture) but at the same time, because culture can not be defined without power/conflict, there is the creation of micro-cultures which are defined by a shared symbolic system. To apply this definition of culture in this thesis I draw on Tim Ingold's theory of landscape. He demonstrates how the symbolic systems of meaning that different cultural groups have are based on how they have lived or live within a space – what he refers to as how people "dwell" within a landscape ("Temporality" 159). Specifically, the people in question have lived their life informed by working or being connected to work in the forest, or they have lived their life informed by recreation and leisure in the forest.

The forest and the types of activities and interactivities that people are part of concerning the forest lends to the construction of how they define and understand such spaces; as such the forests are part of symbolic systems. In British Columbia, cultures that are economically dependant on forests are more so informed by resource use, whereas cultures not economically dependent on forests are informed by recreational use. How cultures are informed by forest use has led to contested ideologies concerning forest practices, and has had a deep impact on British Columbia's ecoprovinces and those living within these space. Yet, despite the differences in forest

use ideology, it is readily evident that the cultures of British Columbians are interconnected with the province's forest ecology. Culture and ecology, for British Columbians, is inseparable, as they are for all peoples/cultures. However, though forests and BC cultures are inseparable, because of the multiple ways forests are connected to cultures, I believe equal attention must be paid to both ecological and social welfare issues pertaining to forest use since profound changes in either (purposeful or not) will result in one variable affecting the other.[1]

It is important that I clarify that this thesis examines primarily western colonial ideologies. Though BC's environmental history is rich in First Nations influences, I feel that because this thesis focuses on resource extraction on a grand scale (clearcutting) and the debates surrounding such practices, I must address the history of landuse decision/policy making in Canada, which for the most part (though not exclusively) was done by white males. However, I hope to make it readily apparent that those who have exploited nature are also those who have oppressed other people. Additionally, I believe that to understand a culture there needs to be attention paid to oppressors and uses of power. First Nations have a history of collective action regarding natural resources in British Columbia, and I will address this history in following chapters.

Though there has been extensive theoretical research regarding the interconnectedness of culture and ecology, even concerning the south coast's environment and culture, there remains a lack of discourse in regards to the province's Northern Interior. For the most part the discourse concerning forest use on British Columbia's south coast has been focused on political debates hinged upon ecological

[1] This remains true for both positive and negative changes.

ethics and social justice (see chapter two). Yet, these arguments often exclude the sentiments of average British Columbians. Therefore, a more inclusive approach must be taken to understand the interconnectedness of British Columbians and their forests and the effects of this interconnectedness upon cultures and forests. To construct an inclusive approach, this study analytically considers not only academic research but also forms of generally accessible media such as novels and poetry, all which fill a gap in knowledge regarding cultures existing in British Columbia. These forms of media include voices of those who have been marginalized, as well as personal interpretations of local history and events. Furthermore, by focusing on cultural texts that present the pastoral format of retreat and return and by reading cultural texts through an ecosophic lens informed by Felix Guattari's three ecologies and Timothy Ingold's concept of taskscape[2], I will be able to illustrate that there is, for many British Columbians, interconnectedness with the province's forests. However, because of how we, and those before us, have lived within particular spaces, the construction of landscape is varied and its respective discourses are polysemic. This has led to contested ideologies of forest use, and I will demonstrate that until there is a fundamental change in Western thought that will lead to the "resingularization of subjectivity," the conflicting ideologies concerning BC's forests will go unmitigated.

In short, I am arguing that culture and landscape are inextricably linked, and that contested ideologies are a product of differing experiences of landscape. In order to resolve contested ideologies, I will argue that there needs to be a paradigmatic shift based on the resingularization of subjectivity, whereby despite there being a

[2] To consider a taskscape is to consider a landscape while also considering the actions and interactions and rhythmic patterns that take place within that landscape.

multiplicity of understandings of landscape there is a commonality in the emphasis on subjective considerations of the world, especially aesthetically. To support this argument I will apply anthropological considerations of Practice Theory and psychoanalytic considerations of Poststructural French Philosophy to two literary texts that address issues of forestry in British Columbia: Brian Fawcett's work of creative non-fiction Virtual Clearcut: The Way Things are in My Hometown and Des Kennedy's novel The Garden Club and the Kumquat Campaign. I will take a postpastoral approach to these texts in order to integrate anthropological, philosophical, and ecocritical discussions regarding forest use in BC. Overall, these theoretical considerations allow me to address forestry through an ecocentric lens. The ecocentric mediates anthropocentric and biocentric tendencies, and thus our social and ecological crises are equally important.

British Columbia's Diverse Forest Ecology

The government of British Columbia has divided and sub-divided the province according to an Ecoregions Classification System based on climatic and physiographic uniformity (Ministry of Environment). The classification system has five categories: ecodomains, ecodivisions, ecoprovinces, ecoregions, and ecosections. The most inclusive and comprehensive are the ecoregional divisions, which are areas with "major physiographic and minor macroclimatic or oceanographic variation" (Ministry of Environment). There are 43 ecoregions in British Columbia of which 39 are terrestrial. Currently two distinct ecoregions in BC, the Northern Interior and Vancouver Island, have been and continue to experience profound changes both ecologically and socially

with respect to their cultural connections with the forests. Vancouver Island and the Northern Interior, though unique in many ways, face similar threats against forest health. This has affected their cultural wellbeing. Vancouver Island has faced and continues to face challenges of logging practices that impact ecological and community sustainability. The Northern Interior, like Vancouver Island, faces similar challenges of ecological and social sustainability; however rather than issues of logging practices at the forefront for northern residents, northern resource discourse focuses on the pine beetle epidemic. These two ecoregions are experiencing unique environmental phenomena; however, regionally, the respective cultures' experiences are similar in numerous ways.

Overall, the debates in forest use vis-à-vis conservation and preservation must expand beyond strictly speaking of ecological ethics and include issues of social justice that respect *all* cultures in British Columbia, including forestry culture; overall there is a need for balance in both social and ecological welfare, for one can not exist without the other.

The Dynamic History of Forestry in BC

It is important to recognize how past peoples have lived within particular natural spaces to gain an understanding of a current culture's perception of landscape. For British Columbians the history of logging has informed one type of understanding of landscape. By the late 1800s the culture of logging in Southern British Columbia was beginning to transform into what currently exists via advancements in technology, amendments to policy, and fluctuating global markets (Drushka, Working 37). Some of

these changes mirror the events affecting the current forest industry, and the ways in which the changes have modified culture are similar. Industrial advancements became central to the rapid growth of both the forest industry and local culture. As industrialization and mechanization evolved, logging methods drastically changed and production levels greatly increased. However, these changes in forestry were not experienced spatially or temporally province wide, resulting in the Southern Coast and Northern Interior of British Columbia having unique industry histories, which was partially due to accessibility and differences in tree species (Drushka, Tie Hackers 61). Lack of accessibility also resulted in the emergence of smaller scale private businesses (such as local entrepreneurs and families) compared to the large multi-interest corporations in the south. It was not until recently that the interior companies operated in more than one region of the province (7).

The first major changes to forestry took place on BC's south coast and were a result of a conversion period, where animal and human power was replaced by the steam engine. In 1892 the first coal burning machinery was introduced, which diminished the need for animal labour in the bush, and eventually resulted in an overall reorganization of logging methods (Drushka Working 10). Steam powered machinery led to general technological improvements. As a result, harvesting became selective, yet what initially appeared as improvement rapidly became problematic. Selective logging allowed for rapid and efficient removal of cedar and fir trees – leaving only hemlock -- on the south coast -- which resulted in monocultural forests that became diseased and incapable of healthy renewal. Yet, while the South Coast went through a conversion period, the Northern Interior continued to utilize animal labour.

Though mechanization resulted in profound changes for the south and led to earlier growth of the industry, it was the implementation of railway networks that largely changed the industry for Northern BC. The most rapid changes occurred between 1890 and the First World War. While the South Coast had access to railways and was already bouncing back from a recession, it was not until 1902 -- when the Canadian Northern and Grand Trunk railways were built -- that the Northern Interior witnessed the first major changes (Drushka Working 21). Optimism for the success of the northern logging industry's economic role led to a "feverish pursuit" of BC's northern forests (Drushka Tie Hackers 38). This feverish pursuit included major increases in timber licenses, multiple railway developments, and new ways of thinking about BC's northern forests, which became seen as not only a place for profiteering, but also as a place that could be drawn upon for government promotion. However, with the war approaching and the slowing down of rail development in the north, as well as massive impacts from forest fires and uncontrolled extraction, the industry drastically lost momentum.

While the interior was struggling to keep up with markets and changing technology, the south faced similar experiences, but for southern BC the biggest changes came in the form of ownership. An influx of forestry investors from the United States formed investment syndicates (Drushka, Working 60). Two important investors, who have remained in British Columbia, are Weyerhauser (who now operates in both Northern and Southern BC) and Bloedel, Stewart, & Welch (MacMillan and Bloedel who now operates on the south coast).[3] Bloedel established roots in Powell River in 1908, while Weyerhauser was established by 1901 on Vancouver Island. Eventually, American

[3] Both Weyerhauser and MacMillan Bloedel are now multinational companies. However, they have been leading forestry companies in their respective regions since the 1950s.

investments interest began to take hold in the northern regions of the province as well, such as Quesnel's first mill which was American owned and operated, but the investments were small scale and private (Drushka, Tie Hackers 16). Not only did American conglomerates control the southern businesses, but the U.S. government also controlled BC's imports (Drushka Working 98). The American conservation movement sparked the interest in BC's forests by US investors, as BC had more lenient policies. However, the conservation movement in Canada had not affected forest policies; the philosophy remained as "cut-and-move-on." Unlike the U.S., BC ignored already depleted forest areas due to government greed. Additionally, Premier McBride (1903-1915) adjusted resource and trade policies to foster foreign investment, resulting in an unprecedented economic boom.

Shifting global markets were also largely influential in changing the industry. The most dramatic changes in the market followed the 1929 stock-market crash, which resulted in the American government imposing high tariffs on BC lumber, similar to what the contemporary industry is experiencing. A thousand logs were billed with a four dollar tariff and this cut production in half (Drushka, Working 98).[4] Yet, the industry appeared unaffected and forest production increased and became known as "highball logging," because to meet demand the industry's technological advancements allowed for extended logging seasons, where crews worked year round and camps became more permanent resulting in the establishment of transient communities (95).[5] However, the development of trucks and gas-powered engines would once again change the face of the

[4] The Four dollar tariff would now be equivalent to approximately fifty-six dollars Canadian. Currently, BC pays 1.8 billion dollars in tariffs (McDonald BC Condemns US Trade Action 2004).
[5] Whorehouses and Saloons were the defining characteristics of this community (Drushka Tie Hackers 95).

industry, resulting in better transportation infrastructure, new equipment, and different kinds of knowledge.

The diversification of the industry resulted in larger operations and more job variety that demanded new and various skills. The rapid development of the industry and increasing global demand for BC wood placed pressure on all logging businesses production levels, at the same time workers had to keep up with changes in mechanization in terms of operation and mechanical skills. Mechanization, rail development, amendments to policy, and global markets all profoundly changed both BC's forests and provincial micro-cultures, resulting in the creation of communities that led to towns which still flourish today. Furthermore, for many BC residents, the history of logging has embedded cultural understandings of the forests and those who work in them. However, like those working in the forests, there were also people who used forests for leisure purposes and this resulted in a historical shift concerning the treatment of BC's forests. The forest industry's rapid developments led to public concern for the welfare of BC's forests and led to contested ideologies concerning forest use. The development of ideological contestation regarding forest use was a product of Canada's colonial ties and America's conservation fervor.[6] However, implementing these ideologies was a difficult task due to the sheer number of the industry's employees and the economic control forestry had on the province –this challenge still exists today.

The history of logging in British Columbia, though somewhat different in its regional development, has played an enormous role in the shaping of culture on both a macro (province) and mico-scale (communities). The history of logging in British

[6] America's conservation movement was also a product of British Romantic ideals. However, these ideals resonated with Americans more so than with Canadians. Our movement existed, but on a smaller scale.

Columbia has affected our global, local, and personal worlds ideologically, politically, and ecologically. Jeremy Wilson sums up this idea of logging's historical impact: "At least 5 million hectares. A total of 2 billion cubic meters of wood, or 2.5 billion average-sized trees, enough to fill 60 to 65 million logging trucks. Over 120,000 kilometers of logging roads constructed" (xiii). This comment reveals a large-scale economic and environmental impact on British Columbia, and it is such an impact that continues to resonate today. However such a dramatic effect on BC's forests and economy has also greatly affected politics, policy, and ethics. Wilson, in his book Talk and Log, presents the facts of the scale of logging that has taken place in BC from only 1965-1996. Wilson states:

> [m]ore than 5 million hectares added to the protected areas system. Hundreds of hours of debate in cabinet, and hundreds of thousands of bureaucratic labour poured into analysis and the development of policy advice. Billions of words written and spoken by environmentalists, loggers, company officials, bureaucrats, and politicians trying to advance positions on hundreds of issues. More than 1,000 people arrested at more than a dozen sites where environmentalists or First Nations peoples tried to block logging, (viii)

This statement illustrates how the forest policy development process has been multi faceted and contingent on cultural conflict. As such I believe that the forest policy development process has played an important role in the overall development of British Columbia's macro culture and micro cultures. Therefore, in order to fully understand the construction of cultures in BC, other histories interconnected with logging must be

considered, in particular, the history of the development of environmental protection in BC.

Policy, Conservation, and the Parks System

Principles of conservation and preservation were becoming well established in the United States by the early 1850s. There was growth in an environmental consciousness where aesthetics began to play a role in ecological preservation, resulting in some of the first North American environmental coalitions such as the Sierra Club and the Alpine Club. Ecological concern in North America was a product of a long history in British landscape aesthetics and respective cultural movements. By the height of the Romantic period people generally accepted the concept that images of nature were to be presented as "truthful" rather than "idealistic" (Gibson 30), meaning that instead of representing an idealized landscape, nature was known to be as Tennyson wrote "red in tooth and claw" meaning it was seen for its terror, its power, and its beauty (1973 pt 56). Ecocentric transatlantic ideologies were the roots of Canada's conservation movement. British writer, John Ruskin, was seminal in influencing early Canadian landscape aesthetic discourses (Gibson 29). British Landscape aesthetics initiated not only concerns for conservation but also played an integral role in the establishment of Canada's national parks.

The first national park plans were based on the aesthetic categories of the sublime and picturesque. During this era there was a middle and upper class fascination with "wild" places. The improvement of transportation and the increase in leisure time made travel a popular endeavour. Furthermore, Canada's newly adopted approach to landscape

aesthetics was largely related to the development of the tourism industry (Jasen 6). The Canadian aesthetic tradition was rooted in several attributes: "the emergence of the 'picturesque' and the 'sublime' conventions as major aesthetic categories; the rising importance of landscape as an element of taste; growing links between concepts of landscape, nationalism, and history; and a deepening fascination with aboriginal peoples" (Jasen 7). The desire to experience the sublime resulted in a greater appreciation of the "natural" world. Elements of landscapes that were previously seen as aesthetically unpleasing (such as disfigured surfaces and ominous or threatening phenomena such as mighty waterfalls, austere moors, and threatening woods) were appreciated and even venerated (Jasen 8). People began to search for "place[s] where the sublime was said to be incarnate" (9). Niagara Falls was the first place in Canada to capitalize on this Romantic landscape ideology.

The concept of the picturesque was equally important in defining landscape aesthetic and tourism. The picturesque refers to landscape that is simply visually pleasing, but is not necessarily "immense, awe inspiring or powerful," (Burke 17) which are characteristic of the sublime. The Picturesque "would long outlive *sublimity* as a tourist industry catchword" (Jasen 9). In Canada "Romanticism not only clothed places and cultural objects with thick layers of meaning, it offered an ideology which enabled travelers to these places to see themselves as more sensitive and original than other tourists, as members of 'an aristocracy of inner feeling' (12). As touring became a trend, there emerged an entire industry related to viewing the land and capitalizing on

paraphernalia such as Claude Glasses and guidebooks.[7] As development moved westward, so did Canada's new landscape aesthetics.

Those visiting the Rocky Mountains shared narratives of the experienced sublimity, which "captured the imagination of easterners" (Bella 7). The artist Paul Kane was commissioned by Sir George in 1846 to depict the Canadian landscape in commemoration of the expanding empire. Kane traveled through the Rocky Mountains, on the Alberta side and wrote of the marvelous scenery calling it "sublime" (7). People wanted to be part of the scenery, and Niagara Falls had already endured twenty years of heavy commercialization. Heading west provided the untouched sublime scenery the middle and upper class longed for. However, the development of the Canadian Pacific Railway increased accessibility to the Alberta Rockies and resulted in mass development, such as the establishment of mining towns like Silver City located between Banff and Lake Louise. The town's expansion was followed by logging, further mining and road development, as well as expansion of the railway. All these factors diminished the aesthetics of the landscape: "the landscape was losing some of its purity" (Bella 9). Furthermore, sparks from the steam engines, as well as lightning storms, had caused forest fires, and although those burnt forests are 'natural' they were seen as aesthetically displeasing despite the search for finding 'truth' in nature. In 1884 the Spray Valley, the Kananaskis Valley, and the lower part of the Bow Valley were all burned over leaving a smoky and 'devastated' landscape (Bella 9). The state of the landscape, as aesthetically less pleasing, made the CPR officials panic. Tourism was integral to their economic success, but travelers would not be interested in experiencing an 'unnatural' (un-

[7] The Claude Glass was a curved and tinted mirror, originally used by artists to capture tonal colours. By the 19th century it was used by tourists for viewing landscapes.

picturesque) landscape. Recognizing that travelers wanted to experience the picturesque and sublime, CPR went as far as retouching the color on postcards because the landscape was obviously polluted (9). CPR knew that the profits would be tremendous if they 'designed' Banff for tourism and recreation; it had the potential to produce comparable emotions as Niagara Falls. Also, it provided a space where all the Romantic conventions of landscape could be attained. It is evident then, that not only did aesthetics play a role in conservation and park creation in Canada, but so did economics – resulting in aesthetic commodification.

Canadian officials had an awareness of the success of the national parks movement in the United States, which lead to the creation of Yosemite and Yellowstone park (Bella 10) and it was known that mining and timber extraction were environmentally detrimental, what the CPR General Manager called the "despoilation by the advances of civilization" (Van Horne qtd. in Bella 11), and by 25 November 1885 legislation was passed to establish Banff as a national park. The legislation was called the *Rocky Mountains Park Act.* However, this was just the beginning of Canada's conservation movement.

In 1930 there was the formation of the *National Parks Act* and 14 parks in total had been established. However, this was problematic; it was neither systematic nor scientific. There were no rules or policies outlining what should be considered a park and when areas were up for consideration the landscape was not given rights to preservation based on ecological necessity but rather based on cultural or economic capital. The parks were developed based on personal conjecture and profiteering by Canada's upper class. Land could still be used for resource extraction under the *Rocky Mountains Park Act*; this

eventually defeated the purpose of park creation – which was to balance conservation and development. However, when tourism did not flourish, the true meaning for creation of parks came to fruition: parks were not being saved for any ecological reason (conservation) but only for economic reasons based on scenic worth, "the national parks were to be a tourist attraction, certainly, but not exclusively (Bella 25). Money played a more powerful role than preservation, and as will be seen in my analysis of Fawcett's text some things never change. However, some people acknowledged the ecological ramifications of resource extraction and wanted the parks saved from logging and mining. From a House of Commons debate, 12 May 1887:

> You cannot have a public park, with all the wild animals preserved in it, and have mining industries going on at the same time; you cannot have trade and traffic, involving railways going to and from the mines and at the same time keep the place for sport. If you intend to keep it as a park, you must shut out trade, traffic and mining. (Tupper, fiche 1:pane 4)

It was a minority of Members in Parliament that agreed with such a statement. There was a general belief that all resources should be exploited. Debates such as these that have produced government bodies such as the Ministry of Forests; this Ministry published The State of British Columbia's Forests in 2004, and concretized and harmonized the concepts of BC cultures and forest use by focusing on sustainable forest practice. The method of sustainable use includes cultural sensibilities such as aesthetics, as well as economics, and science (7). Yet in 1930, shortly following these debates, a surveyor for the Department of the Interior, Arthur Wheeler, challenged fellow bureaucrats on the dealings of National Parks. He eventually left his government position to be the

executive for Canada's first environmental coalition, the Canadian Alpine Club (Bella 39). His fight was against water management and hydro development in national parks. The Alpine Club was already established internationally, but Elizabeth Parker, a journalist, established the first club in 1906 in Winnipeg; by 1912 the Alpine Club had arrived in BC (42). The Alpine Club strove to foster scientific study and exploration of the Canadian Alpine and glacial regions, and promoted alpine art and education. However one of the most important mandates of the club was preservation (which is still part of its constitution). The Alpine Club "was Canada's first guardian of the wilderness aesthetic in what Canadians thought then was a limitless mountain West" (Sandford 74). Though conservation had been a flourishing concept in the United States since the 1800s, the Canadian national government's efforts at best were quasi-conservationist, and British Columbia on that note altogether evaded the subject until the early twentieth century.

As the natural resource industries and populations grew in BC, public concern for the state of the province's ecology grew as well (Drushka, Canada's Forest: A History 65). Additionally, as national parks began to be developed, provincial governments began to recognize the economic and social value of protected forests, and by 1911 Vancouver Island's first provincial park, Strathcona, was established (Baikie 4). Like the institution of other parks in Canada, Strathcona was a result of a government official visiting the area and lobbying for protection. However, also like other national parks, Strathcona became subject to resource extraction that resulted in "a somewhat uneasy blend of industrial and recreational interests" (Baikie 6). Not even seven years later the provincial government amended the Park Act, newly allowing for 1,929 timber leases,

the construction of three dams, and extensive logging (8). By 1969 the park was being mined. Yoho, among other national parks such as Banff, also experienced shrinkage and resource extraction between 1911 and 1922 due to supply shortages and increased demands (Lothian 33). Yet, by the late 1930s the BC government did resume, after much economic hardship, the allocation of parks land, such as Wells Grey (1939), Tweedsmuir (1938), and Manning (1941) provincial parks (Ministry of Land, Air, and Protection).

Wells Grey, Tweedsmuir, and Manning each occupy different ecoregions of the province including the north, interior, southern interior, and south-west. Tweedsmuir National Park was and continues to be the largest park in BC. Amazingly these parks were not logged until the recent pine beetle outbreak. Though Romantic ideals have remained ingrained in many British Columbians, there were others who ignored the economic and social benefits of forest protection, which resulted in a long period of rapid over-extraction and landscape scarification, "everything was felled in the name of efficiency, the companies said. But this same efficiency turned once-wild valleys into treeless moonscapes... decades of logging had punched roads and clearcuts into virtually every valley" (Careless 14). On Vancouver Island, the government locked off access to active logging zones and in turn the public remained unaware of the scale of extraction. It took twenty years until anyone noticed the impact of industrial logging, and it was not until the late 1960s that British Columbians mobilized to slow clearcut logging on the west coast of Vancouver Island.

The severity of logging's effect on Vancouver Island was not completely realized until a hiker, Jim Hamilton, noticed the infiltration of logging in the Nitanat triangle, located near Duncan. It was then that British Columbians became seriously concerned

for the welfare of BC's forests' (Careless 17). The first mobilization occurred largely due to scientific recognition that the island was a unique ecoregion; scientists were already recognizing the problems associated with logging due to the region's unique biodiversity, terrain, and climate. Unlike American citizens who, for decades, had been lobbying their governments for forest protection, Canadians remained complacent – people were aware of ecological preservation but had not mobilized. Unlike Americans, Canadians lacked rebellious actions when it came to the environmental movement. For British Columbians community mobilization and protest for forest protection was a totally new concept. However, with the American conservation movement already well established, Nitanat activists had a public conservation history from which to draw. When Jim Hamilton and a few supporters brought the conditions of the Nitanat Triangle to the public's attention, British Columbians protested logging (on a large scale) for the first time in modern Canadian history in order to protect the rainforest watershed (18). Organizers petitioned, met with forest workers, produced a documentary, and worked on fundraising initiatives. However, organizers realized that unless Cabinet Ministers were lobbied, there would be no hope for stopping the logging. Island activists, in 1971, joined with the San Francisco based environmental organization the Sierra Club and established the organization locally. At a rally in Victoria, in 1972, Jean Chretien (National Parks Minister) attended and shocked the public by announcing that 20,000 acres of the Nitanat Triangle would be protected as a national park (Careless 526). For forest preservation activists in BC, not only was this their first attempt at publicly pressuring the government for forest protection, but also was the first of many victories. With an organization established and vast public awareness, fights for forest preservation

continued and moved throughout the province. Other organizations began to get involved as well, such as the Wildlife Federation (established 1966), the BC Federation of Naturalists (established 1979), and the Steelhead Society (established 1970). Though these organizations had previous mandates that included some variant of environmental protection, it was not until the Nitanat campaign that they became directly involved in forest conservation. They also held in common their cultural identification with the forests; their ideologies of forest use were based on various proponents of leisure use. The movement expanded through the province rapidly and places such Atlin, Naikoon, and several others were established in the North. Yet these respective parks were a product of the public lobbying against the loss of Hamber Park due to the construction of the Bennett damn in 1967 (Careless 312). But with the public eye watching BC's forests, by the 1980s it was readily apparent that there continued to be a dramatic loss in the province's contiguous forests, and that there was a need for further evaluation and the implementation of a comprehensive system that would consider all aspects of wilderness similar to the what the US instituted in the 1960s (211). Eventually pressure mounted and the cultural division between those connected to resource extraction and those connected to leisure-use became even greater, resulting in the cultural rifts that exist today.

The rich and lengthy history of BC's differing interpretations of forest-use is a product of economic transformations and growth, as well as enduring ecological sensibilities, which were rooted in Romantic ideology. During the Romantic period, in Canada, sensibilities of the sublime and picturesque influenced ecocentric ideologies. However, by the turn of the century, economic growth lead to rapid deforestation despite

ecocentric rhetoric concerned with forest preservation through park creation. By the 1970s complete industrialization and rapid deforestation lead to the reemergence of ecocentric ideologies and a campaign to save the west coast rain forests that would last for decades. Balancing the debate of preservation versus extraction did not fully become a reality until the mid 1990s when discussions of sustainable forest practices became actualized, and the government began to realize that there needed to be a way to address cultural connections rooted in aesthetics, as well as economics: "today all communities in British Columbia, urban and rural, continue to have significant cultural, recreational and economic connections with the province's forests" (Ministry of Forests 7). However, both current and historical discussions establish a foundation for understanding how people have dwelled in different regions of the province. History has also shaped current perceptions of landscape and related contested ideologies concerning resource use.

I. Literature Review

This Literature Review will briefly connect and synthesize seminal works that help define Anthropological theory that is applicable to discussions of the interrelationship of culture and ecology. This review will also briefly touch on explorations of the pastoral, which address the concept of cultural and ecological connectivity vis-à-vis the pastoral (whether negative or positive). I will also examine texts that illustrate observations on the relationship between post-structural and postmodernist approaches to eco-criticism. Additionally, texts that tie together the above-mentioned theoretical and philosophical movements to cultural conflicts arising from logging practices in British Columbia will be explored. Finally, there will be a discussion on narratives and poems, from BC writers, that contextualize existing contested ideologies.

Practice Theory

In her article "Theory in Anthropology," Sherry Ortner states that "culture is not something locked inside people's heads, but rather is embodied in public symbols, symbols through which the members of a society communicate their world, value-orientations, ethos, and all the rest to one another, to future generations..."(Ortner Anthropology 374). Ortner argues that there needs to be a shift in the emphasis on "what culture allows and enables people to see, feel, and do, to what it restricts and inhibits them from seeing, feeling, and doing" (396). Such a shift in theoretical orientation allows for inquiries to go beyond considerations of symbolic meaning because it fosters consideration of the production of symbolic systems. Ortner focuses on the proponents

of "practice, praxis, action, interaction, activity, experience, and performance," as well as the "agent, actor, person, self, individual, and subject" (388). Additionally, the analysis of the relationships between structure, power, and oppression allows for an approach that acknowledges the existence of "systems" which are loosely structured and that have "very powerful, determining effects upon human action and the shape of events" (390). However, at the same time by, considering people as agents one can also recognize that these systems can be and will be changed. Furthermore, Practice Theory allows for considerations of not only where systems come from and how they change (390). In this thesis, practice theory will provide a theoretical focus, whereby I can consider what people do – i.e. "all forms of human action" (393), with a focus on the political implications of human action. Actors and agents can be individuals or groups who, through practice, are shaped by the system as well as shape the system. By recognizing that human action is affected by systems and affects change to systems and is fueled by politics, there is an implication that systems are therefore tied to control and power.

When recognizing that a system is in place there must also be recognition that there is an element of control, whether it be seen as "constraint, hegemony, or symbolic domination" (391). As such, the system shapes practice. Another practice theorist, Pierre Bourdieu, calls cultural structure the habitus, which he argues is, for the most part, controlled by forms of symbolic capital and symbolic domination. Symbolic capital is related to social positing, honour, prestige, and sensibilities (more specifically, aesthetics). Though "order is not perceived as arbitrary," social control can manifest via complacency, also at times elements of the system go unquestioned, these factors perpetuate the reproduction of the structure. Bourdieu names the experience of seeing

aspects of the world that are self-evident "the doxa" (160). This term is relative to the ideas of orthodoxy and heterodoxy. Bourdieu connected these ideas with notions of collective practice, which is what he defined as a product of a "groups' accordance with mythical structures" (159). Drawing from Bourdieu and Foucault, Ortner argues that "there seems to be general agreement that action is constrained most deeply and systematically by the ways in which culture controls the definitions of the world for actors, limits their conceptual tools, and restricts their emotional repertoires" (397). But because there is an element of agency, control is not all encompassing and constraining, and therefore, hegemony is fragile.

Agency cannot be defined simply as free will or resistance, and as such, it comes from the multiplicity of motivations (Ahearn 116). Class struggle (Marx), differing interests (Sahlins), linguistic changes (Ahearn), or asymmetrical relations and accidental actions (Ortner) are some examples of how agency takes shape. Because agency exists, it has the ability to manifest as praxis and change the system. Furthermore, because people acknowledge that structure exists they can actively use the structure either consciously or unconsciously. Yet, praxis is neither routine nor intentional action; rather it is a dialectical relationship between reflection and action. Summing up the definitions of agency and praxis, Ahearn, another theorist who draws on practice theory, states "'Agency and praxis are two sides of the incessant social functioning; agency actualizes in praxis, and praxis reshapes agency, which actualizes itself in changed praxis" (Stompka qtd in Ahearn 118). It is the relationship between agency and praxis that provides understanding why changes occur to a system and thus provides an explanation, in this thesis, of why conflict over cultural resources exists.

Cultural Resources: Symbols and Conflict

I have noted that culture is the embodiment of symbols that are shared and that act as a form of communication. I have also noted that symbols are cultural resources, which can change and thus be given new interpretations, which at times can lead to the development of 'micro-cultures' within a larger culture, which in turn can result in symbolic conflicts. In his article "Structures, Habitus, Power: Basis for a Theory of Symbolic Power," Pierre Bourdieu presents the idea of symbolic capital, [8] which is inherently connected to power struggles. The amount of Cultural/symbolic capital, a person/group has, varies, and this inequality results in struggles over and for cultural/symbolic capital. Part of the struggles are based on gaining recognition and legitimization of symbols, which implies there must be some form of knowledge around a symbol that provides the power to convince others of the symbol's legitimization. Bourdieu suggests, along with power, that the process of naming legitimizes symbols. Additionally this can lead to conflict, as groups may fight over the naming process. Simon Harrison offers an interesting adaptation of Bourdieu's concept of symbolic capital. Harrison presents an argument that there are four types of symbolic conflict, and symbols of group identity are key in political conflict (Harrison 255).

For Harrison, one type of symbolic conflict is "valuation contests." This type of symbolic conflict is where different groups have symbols, which are treated to be in competition; they are "ranked according to prestige, legitimacy or sacredness" (256). Another type of symbolic conflict consists of "proprietary contests" (258). This is seen when "groups claim...rights in their distinguishing symbols, and treat attempts by other

[8] For the purpose of this paper symbolic capital means prestige/authority/or simply having the right to be listened to.

groups to copy them as hostile acts" (258). The third and fourth types of symbolic conflict are different than the former because they can change and create symbols. Of particular interest is Simon Harrison's explanation of "innovation contests" (260). Harrison explains that when a rivalry occurs and results in an ideological division a "distinct set of symbolic representations of identity" takes place (261). Harrison summarizes the symbolic conflict of "innovation contests" by saying it is a "process of competitive emulation just as much as invention. The reason is that the groups concerned are "engaged in a process of mutual identification with each other as well as competitive differentiation from each other" (Harrison 262). The final symbolic conflict is "Expansionary Contests," which is where "a group tries to displace its competitors' symbols of identity with its own symbols" and this results in competing for survival of group identification (263). In this case there are differing symbols with which the groups identify. One group will try and take over the other group's symbols of identity. However, there are more general ways of understanding the production of symbolic conflict.

Laura M. Ahearn provides a brilliant interpretation of Bourdieu's concept of symbolic power and conflict. In her article "Language and Agency," Ahearn notes that symbolic power is control and is controlled by power relations and as "Bourdieu maintains, occurs when individuals mistakenly consider a standard dialect or style of speaking to be truly superior to the way they themselves speak" (Ahearn 111). Ahearn then draws on the practice theory, whereby the study of language considers linguistic "intertextuality and situatedness" (112). Discourse (as practice/praxis) shapes and is shaped by social and cultural realities. Language is just one example of practice/praxis of

many, but I believe it provides an excellent window in understanding how what we say and how we choose to say it have political implications that either reproduce the structure of a system or change it.

How people have come to speak about BC's forests has been shaped by their social realities. Simply put, those economically dependent on forestry generally have a much different opinion regarding forest use than those who are not directly economically tied to forestry. However, I believe we must be careful not to polarize this subject. The debate is far more complex than environmentalists versus loggers. It is rather a discussion about varying approaches and understandings of preservation and conservation that are rooted in agency, language, knowledge, and power.

Landscape

There are multiple approaches to defining and discussing landscape, whether it is through a semiotic analysis (John Lyon's "Locative Subjects" and "Spatial Expressions), a psycholinguistic analysis (Miller and Johnson-Liard "The Hypothosis of Localization"), or phenomenological consideration (Christopher Tilley "A Phenomenology of Landscape"). It is postmodern and poststructural (phenomenological) considerations of landscape, such as Chrisopher Tilley's, that I will be focusing on while discussing the interconnection between culture and forests in British Columbia. De Certeau wrote on the concept of differentiation of what constitutes space and place, and how a place becomes a space, and thus a landscape. De Certeau says "a place is the order in accord with which elements are distributed in relationships of coexistence...a place is an instantaneous configuration of positions [and] implies stability" (117). Place is where

actions/practice exist in a specific location. Space on the other hand is defined by mobility, in that not only location but also movement and time define space. Like Ortner, Bourdieu, and Ahearn, De Certeau also focuses on practice as a way of understanding culture. However, De Certeau focuses on space as practiced place. By discussing human mobility in narrative, De Certeau illustrates how stories actualize spaces and places. This concept will be further discussed and applied in the following chapters in connection to the literary theory of the post-pastoral. Drawing from practice theory, De Certeau notes that space, like culture is loosely structured because it is partitioned and thus there is both an "isolation and interplay of distinct spaces" (123). Aside from De Certeau, there are also others who have drawn from practice theory as a way of understanding of landscape.

Drawing from Heidegger, Christopher Tilley states that "dwelling" defines spaces (Tilley 13). Tilley explains that it is social action that creates a space, and that "people live out their lives in a place and have a sense of being part of it. Consequently, place is fundamental to the establishment of personal and group identities" (16). Tilley further discusses the perspective of practice/praxis and structure in accordance with landscape. Similar to the statements of practice theorists, he claims "structure is considered as a set of rules and resources for action in the medium through which action is produced, both enabling and constraining it. Structure is also a product of action, and is created, reproduced and changed through the meaningful action of agents." (17). With this recognition, Tilley suggests that space is integral in defining how practice/praxis occurs. It is a dialectical relationship whereby "actors draw on their settings; and the manner in which they do so depends upon the specificity of their relationship to place" (17). Furthermore, he notes that space has both ideological and ontological inferences for the

way in which we think about the world. However there is a multiplicity of inferences; as such, "we should be aware of attempts to define landscape, to resolve its contradictions, and rather we should abide in its duplicity" (Tilley 25). Despite a multiplicity of understandings of a landscape, its historical connection to those who dwell in it has played a role in the way people have come to talk about and understand landscape in a collective sense. Similar to Bourdieu's discussion of habitus and symbolic capital, Tilley states, "both land and language are equally symbolic resources drawn on to foster correct social behavior and values" (29). For Tilley, landscape is connected to practice/praxis, and discussions of social action are inherently tied to the place in which it unfolds.

Similar to Tilley's phenomenological discussions of landscape, is Tim Ingold's discussion of landscape in his 1993 article entitled "The Temporality of Landscape." In the prologue he says "[f]irstly human life is a process that involves the passage of time, and second, this life-process is also the process of formation of the landscapes in which people have lived " ("Temporality" 152). The landscape, because it is more than a "backdrop of human activities...or symbolic ordering," is instead a text, an "enduring record," to those in the past and present (152). Ingold's definition of landscape is of particular importance. He clearly explains it is not space or nature, and it is not an image in our mind, rather landscape is a place of dwelling, a place "part of us, just as we are a part of it." (154). There is no separation between humanity and nature, and there is no compartmentalization of humanity and nature – "the order of landscape is implicit" (154). Finally, to understand landscape, he argues that meaning is gathered from it because when activities take place there are unlimited experiences that give landscape "unique significance" (155).

Ingold also argues that there is not a division between the inner and outer worlds: "mind and matter, meaning and substance" (Ingold "Temporality" 154). Humans are part of landscape as much as landscape is part of humans. Like other scholars who recognize the importance of history and movement, Ingold also notes the importance of these variables; however he expands this discussion with a third variable: temporality. Temporality is the passage of events, experiences, and activities that "carry forward the process of social life" (157). From temporality comes taskscape. Taskscape, is a derivative of the word task, meaning "any operation carried out by a skilled agent in an environment" (Ingold "Temporality" 158), and a taskscape is the interconnection and interrelationships of tasks done in a specific space or landscape. Ingold presents a division beween taskscape and landscape, in that taskscape can be understood as what we perceive around us based on the sounds we hear: birds chirping, cars driving, construction, sirens etc. The activities that we hear (or simply sense) are part of the landscape and in essence are interconnected. Thus, taskscape allows/is "action and interaction" (163). However, taskscape is not ascribed to only humans or living organisms: "the rhythmic pattern of human activities nests within the wider pattern of activity for all animal life, which nests within the life-process of the world" (164). Ingold, Like Basso and Cosgrove, offers his readers the conclusion that ecology must be cultural. Quoting Basso, Ingold writes "ecology that is fully cultural is one that would attend as much to the semiotic as to the material dimensions of people's relations with their surroundings, by bringing into focus 'the layers of significance with which human beings blanket the environment'" (171).

In his article, Ingold provides an understanding of how, in all its complexity, culture and environment are connected. However, in is his book The Perception of the Environment (2000), he clearly focuses on the connection between culture and landscape/nature/ecology. When discussing how landscape is constructed Ingold refers to symbolic systems, explaining how constructions are based on symbolic systems. Ingold argues "two individuals from different backgrounds, place[d] in the same environment, [will] construct it in different ways. The reason would be that each has brought a different symbolic system to bear in organizing the same material of sensory experience"(Perception 160). Also in this book, Ingold looks to apply what others, such as Bateson and Guattari (See below), have set out to explain. Ingold looks to "replace the stale dichotomy of nature and culture with the dynamic synergy of organism and environment, in order to regain a genuine ecology of life" (16). The Perception of the Environment becomes an excellent interdisciplinary bridge – where Anthropology, Ecology, and Existentialism are integrated.

Ecology

Ecology is the branch of science that examines the interrelationship of organisms and their environment. However, ecology as a theory has been influencing other fields of study. I agree with many scholars who have argued that it is important to examine the role of ecological cognition and ethics (Bateson 1973, 1980, Guattari 2000, Harries-Jones 2002). Scholars from varying fields have reiterated and reworked the elemental concepts of culture and ecology that Gregory Bateson offered in Steps to an Ecology of Mind

(1973) and Mind and Nature: a Necessary Unity (1980). Both Ingold and Guattari have drawn their arguments from the basic ideas presented in Bateson's works. However, for Ingold landscape and culture are connected through what he coins "sentient ecology," which comes from an understanding that knowledge of landscape is "based in feeling, consisting in the skills, sensitivities and orientations that have developed through long experiences of conducting one's life in a particular environment." (Ingold Perception 25). "Sentient ecology," for Ingold, though appearing to head in the same direction as Felix Guattari's "Ecology of the Psyche" and Bateson's "ecology of the mind," is different because it provides a foreground for science and ethics. For instance, Ingold explains "sentient ecology" in relation to ecological psychology, but he explains that the point of departure for ecological psychology is the proposition that perceptual activity consists not in the operation of the mind upon bodily data of sense, but in the intentional movement of the whole being (body and mind) in its environment. Additionally, unlike Bateson and Guattari, Ingold's treatment of the cognition of landscape "rests in perceptual skills that emerge, for each and every being, through a process of development in a historically specific environment" (Perception 25).

It is important to make a few generalizations of Gregory Bateson's early works because they have been so influential in the discussion of the connectivity of psyche-community-environment. In Ecology of Mind, Bateson who sees the mind as "no-thing" (9), emphasizes the communication that occurs between organic-organic and organic-inorganic. Influenced by anthropologists such as Ruth Benedict, and his wife Margaret Mead, Bateson's psychologically orientated anthropology looked to amalgamate psychology, ecology, and anthropology. However, such an approach today could be seen

as problematic in that there is no division of these element – they are all simply aspects of culture. Yet, Peter Harries-Jones provides an excellent contemporary adaptation of Bateson's 'ecology of the mind' in "Where Bonds become Binds: The necessity for Bateson's Interactive Perspective in Biosemiotics" (2002). Harries-Jones explains that 'ecology of the mind' "requires that we must come to an understanding of living systems as part of our life-processes, while at the same time recognizing that our own self-hood is part of that larger whole" (170). Though Harries-Jones, similar to Ingold, recognizes the importance of 'life-processes', Harries-Jones focuses on the psychological and semiotic aspects of connectivity (172). As such, Harries-Jones illustrates that psychology in the existential sense is just one element of culture. Of most interest though is how Harries-Jones touches on Bateson's examinations of ecological circumstance. In discussing human adaptability, Harries-Jones notes how ecological changes have "been fundamental in the evolution of human beings and history of cultures" (172). However, now "crops are [for the most part] dependant on human agricultural infrastructure," (173). Additionally, Harries-Jones comments on Bateson's interpretation of such a situation that in essence is comparable to the theories of the connection between practice and landscape. Harries-Jones offers an additional way of thinking about the connection between practice and landscape in terms of being ecologically helpful and detrimental. He writes: [m]isunderstanding the significance of reciprocities in exchange and their mutual causality can threaten survival" (173). Harries-Jones, in his article on Bateson, also touches on Hoffmeyer's triangle of culture-external/nature-internal, which is comparable to Guattari's three ecologies. Hoffmeyer, in his book Signs of Meaning explores the role of the "mental," "biological," and ""cultural/environmental" (Harries-

Jones 173). Harries-Jones, Bateson, Hoffmeyer, and Guattari all have in common one sensibility the interconnection of the biotic world. Hoffmeyer, though different in his particular 'psychological' discourse from Bateson and Guattari, looks to eradicate the dualistic treatment of human/nature via subjectivity. He emphasizes how subjective understandings can be used to achieve a more ecocentric world, meaning that neither humanity nor nature is voiceless.

Literary Criticism: The Pastoral and Ecocriticism

Traditional pastoral writing dates back to Theocritus (c. 316-320), a Greek General who believed that contact with nature fostered a simple life. Early pastoral texts were based solely on shepherds in idealized settings of nature (Williams 19), but two centuries later Virgil shifted the focus of pastoral texts from shepherd life to a general focus on retreat from urban centers into nature. The pastoral experienced further changes during the Italian Renaissance and during the mid seventeenth century, whereby allegory took on an instrumental role (20). Yet, the most prominent changes occurred during the Romantic period, and it is the Romantic pastoral tradition that influenced Northern American, and specifically Canadian, pastoral literature. Additionally, current adaptations of the pastoral are greatly influenced by Romantic pastoral ideology. Furthermore, the ecological considerations of subjectivity's importance to the Romantic pastoral demonstrate the harmonious connection of current ecosophic theories' with pastoral narratives. Romantic pastoral writing was "grounded in a concrete understanding of the negative consequences of the social and technological complexity of life in an urban setting" (McKusick 29). During the early eighteenth century, rapid

industrialization and urbanization largely influenced pastoral conceptions. Influential writers such as William Wordsworth and John Clare aggrandized rural life, as did Samuel Taylor Coleridge and Robert Southey. Consequently, the pastoral format, especially in terms of British influence, has remained a prominent cultural characteristic in regional Canadian writing.

It has become evident that it is impossible to discuss environmental ethics or ecocriticism without recognizing that such topics are connected to Romantic interpretations of the pastoral. Ecocriticism in its most general form is interdisciplinary in nature, bringing together literary criticism and cultural studies and science (Glotfelty 1996, Love 2003). However, a large number of the narratives and poems from BC writers that I have found apply the pastoral theme of retreat and return. Canadian literary scholars such as Northrop Frye, Margaret Atwood, Henry Kreisel, and Yves Theriault have all constructed the Canadian wilderness as a place "where men and women flee from what they feel are the decadent and sterile values of the 'South'" (Mitcham 17). They analyze the theme of flight, while also considering the rejection of decadence and urban values that mirror traditional pastoral characteristics of retreat. Lawrence Buell, an American literary scholar, recognizes that the pastoral format has remained popular in both the United States and Canada (Buell 60). In his book The Environmental Imagination, Buell connects the tradition of American nature writing to the 'green thinker' and author of Walden (1854): Henry Thoreau. Buell, as I do in this thesis, acknowledges the influence of Romantic pastoral ideologies on North American 'green' literature. The pastoral for Buell and many others is understood as fostering an ecological doctrine; Lawrence Buell explains, "this approach turns what at first might

seem mere pictorialism into something increasingly less innocuous" (40). Buell defends pastoral writing in North America, illustrating its 'postmodern' sensibilities; it is not only gender and minority inclusive, but it also has been self-reflexive, especially in term of its discussions of imperialism (63). These post-modern characteristics have been recognized by other contemporary scholars, which have lead to a branch of Ecocriticism called "The Post-Pastoral."

Ecocriticism, like most theories, has different schools of thought. In this thesis I focus on those who are specifically concerned with subjectivity as a pastoral tendency. In his book Practical Eco-criticism: Literature, Biology, and the Environment, Glen A. Love provides an overview of ecocriticism starting with the 1960s and offers discussions on both objective and subjective fields of thought, but of particular interest is Love's discussion on the pastoral. In the chapter "Pastoral Meets Arcadia" he begins discussing the pastoral by drawing on Lawrence Buell's The Environmental Imagination, and notes that the search for Arcadia is still readily evident in contemporary 'green' literature, which includes the characteristic movement of retreat and return. Furthermore, Love also acknowledges and validates Buell's statement that the pastoral most importantly has remained the same in form but has modified its "ideological content" (Love 69). Writers such as Raymond Williams (The Country and the City, 1973); Terry Gifford (Green Voice 1995); and Dana Phillips ("Reading the Earth: New Directions in the Study of Literature and the Environment" 1998) have also acknowledged the pastoral form as remaining but changing in 'ideological content.' However, each has a different interpretation and application of the 'modern' pastoral. Raymond Williams examines the pastoral from a Marxist point of view focusing on sociopolitical relationships. Dana

Phillips presents a post-modern approach to the pastoral, placing emphasis on natural degradation and questioning the "modern scientific project" (Phillips 235). In general, postmodern pastoral narratives focus on the ecological destruction currently taking place. However, it is the defining of the post-pastoral as a category unto itself that Terry Gifford presents in his book Pastoral. For Gifford, though not specifically drawing from practice theory, acknowledges that activity and interactivity are inseparable from the spaces in which they take place. Gifford recognizes that both culture and landscape are structured. Like many other scholars, Gifford recognizes that power is integral to understanding humanity's relationships with/in environment. Gifford tries to consider objective and subjective fields of thought, and he shows that when reading literature that is pastoral in format, the ideological content will show that social and biological concerns are inherently connected and that subjectivity plays an integral role in addressing current environmental issues. Furthermore, Gifford presents a critical approach for literature that is comparable to the ecological considerations of Bateson, Guattari, and Ingold.

Forests, Cultures, and Ecology

We need to address cultural conflict tied to forest use in British Columbia from a non-anthropocentric yet culturally relevant point of view. Neither nature nor culture can be voiceless when discussing environmental issues. Therefore, an ecocritical approach allows for mediation between anthropocentricism and biocentricism. But for any discussion about landuse, an ecocentric approach is necessary as it recognizes that one element cannot overlook or dominate another, in that the two are inherently connected.

There are many publications regarding the 'misuse' of BC Forests, and many that focus on critiquing logging methods. One of the first books to address logging and sustainability in British Columbia was Jamie Swift, who in 1983 published the book Cut and Run: The Assault on Canada's Forests. Swift examines logging conflicts that have taken place across the nation. Writing on a variety of issues, Swift illustrated the contested ideologies surrounding logging practice, whether it was 'tree-huggers' fighting loggers or rural communities fighting national corporations. Swift shows how the 1920s mentality of "cut-and-run" has not really changed (10). Swift delves into the social costs of logging in Canada, and for British Columbia, Swift concentrates on how local communities are vulnerable to industry choices. Comparable to Swift, feminist scholar Maureen Reed, who published Taking Stands: Gender and the Sustainability of Rural Communities looks at the connection between small communities and resource extraction. Reed addresses the need to understand both preserving forests and preserving forest communities. Unlike Swift, she is less concerned with "the assault on Canada's Forests" and more concerned with the "Sustainability" of both forests and forest communities. Specifically, Reed investigates the polyvocality of women's activism concerning resource extraction in Canada, as well as women's effects on environmental politics and policy making. Jeremy Wilson in his book Talk and Log: Wilderness Politics in British Columbia, 1965-96 also provides an overview of the political history of BC forests concerning environmentalism, logging, and forest policy. This study is yet another example of the centrality of forests to British Columbians from perspectives of both the left and the right. However, it is Terre Satterfield who has really provided a detailed analysis of the conflict that exists concerning forest use. Instead of focusing

entirely on history and progress, Satterfield takes an anthropological approach to the connectivity of culture and nature. In her book Anatomy of Conflict: Identity, Knowledge, and Emotion in Old Growth Forests, Satterfield provides an ethnographic approach to the conflict between activist loggers and environmentalists. She conducted interviews that drew out ideologies of forest use in Oregon. Specifically, she spoke with affiliates of statewide grassroots organizations, loggers, people living in timber dependant communities, and individuals from other interest groups such as hunters, anglers, and ranchers. Yet, she focused primarily on parties of organized loggers and grassroots environmentalists. As, such her approach is limited, but is still able to offer an outline of how forest use is connected to the cultural make-up of Oregon. It is from Satterfield's book that we see the importance of looking at symbols, language, and subjectivity when considering nature-human interconnectedness.

Lorna Stefanick in her 2001 article "Baby Stumpy and the War in the Woods" examines cultural conflict concerning forestry in British Columbia. Stefanick focuses on theory addressing social movements, and discussed what is known as "framing" (43). However, like Satterfield, Stefanick recognizes that discourse over forestry "demonstrates the two sharply contrasting frames of what forests mean for British Columbians" (Stefanick 45). However, there is a lack of cultural recognition or awareness of community in this article, as well as a bias towards the environmental movement and a focus on the West Coast. Michael Pregernig, like Stefanick, also discusses the concept of "framing" in his article "Perceptions, Not Facts: How Forestry Professionals Decide on the Restoration of Degraded Forest Ecosystems" (27). Drawing on theorists such as Berger and Luckman (1981), and Blumer (1986), Pregernig brings

together social constructivism and symbolic interactionism. However, such an approach is completely anthropocentric – there is no recognition of ecological power to inform, change, or maintain the systems that are in place. Furthermore, Pregernig's approach is anthropocentric because nature is both passive and voiceless. Despite talking about forest ecosystems, his approach is not ecocentric because he does not demonstrate how there needs to be a balance between acknowledging the power/force held by not only humans, but also nature. When discussing ecology, and specifically reforestation, there is great emphasis on the role of science, and of course, the relationship between subjectivity and objectivity, which brings forth an important consideration of subjectivity's role in reforestation despite science: "the more a person feels (subjectively) affected by the phenomena of forest decline, the more he or she will be prepared to accept innovative restoration measures" (Pregernig 35). It is Pregernig's recognition of subjectivity that I find important, as it is the crux of understanding how to confront social/ecological destruction. Subjectivity places emphasis on the emotive. As Sherry Ortner argues, we should not "slight the question of subjectivity, that is the view of the subject as existentially complex, a being who feel, thinks, and reflects, who makes and seeks meaning" (Subjectivity 33). By feeling, thinking, reflecting, and seeking and making meaning of space we will be better equipped for debates regarding landuse/misuse and the overall ecological crisis.

William T. Hipwell published "A Deleuzian Critique of Resource-use Management Politics in Industria" in 2004. His article blends together theories of culture, community, identity, globalization, forestry, ideology. Focusing on a Deleuzian approach to power and knowledge, Hipwell blames our current social and ecological

crises on the perpetuation of controlling 'systems' (370). For Hipwell though, he ascribes a term to this system: "Industria." Industria is "a single planet-wide system," whose perpetuators participate in a culture that is disseminated through media and is "characterized by conspicuous consumption" (371). This is opposite to how other globalization theorists would consider the production of systems, as culture is generally understood as produced locally. However, Hipwell does maintain a postmodern/poststructural/Deleuzian approach by recognizing that "as with all 'things' Industrian culture is not a fixed identity category but rather a continuum of intensity" (371); there is a multiplicity of ways of participating in this culture and there is polyvocality in its description. Hipwell provides a way of explaining how Deleuzian philosophy can be applied to the interconnection of wilderness with community. He draws on the Deleuzian terms "deterritorialization" and "reterritorialization" to explain how environmental politics can be understood in the same manner as geopolitics. The system's/state's apparatus tries to control – this control comes from the meeting of any two things, but when an already controlled thing meets something uncontrolled ('wild/chaotic') the system deterritorializes in order to reterritorialize it to apply control and understanding (Deleuze and Guattari A Thousand Plateaus 1987). Though Hipwell draws from Deleuzian philosophy to understand resource management, much of his discussion is rooted in understanding the power of global systems, rather than the effect of global systems on local communities. Despite the fact that scholars are combining cultural theory with resource use, in regards to British Columbia's forestry industry there is a lack of attention to rural localities. Specifically, when rural communities in BC have

been addressed, they are communities that have had previous large-scale attention, such as Clayoquot Sound.

Forestry and the Forests in Literature

The research that has been done on forest(ry) and culture in BC generally has two primary kinds of focus: polarized discourses and regional bias. Because Vancouver Island had an incredible amount of media attention during the late 1980s and early 1990s and because the west coast old growth forests have influenced cultural-movement, there has been an incredible amount of academic response [Warren Magnusson and Karena Shaw A Political Space: Reading the Global through Clayoquot Sound (2002); Walter Guppy Clayoquot Soundings: A History of Clayoqout Sounds 1800-1980s (1997); Howard Breen-Needham Witness to Wilderness: The Clayoquot Sound Anthology (1994) to name a few], yet because of the global media's treatment of west coast rainforests and the changes that occurred because of the west coast forest preservation movement, northern forest issues had long been neglected. However there has been one scholar who addressed issues facing BC's northern forests, and who has also recognized the work of Brian Fawcett.

Richard Pickard in his article "Magic Environmentalism: Writing/Logging (in) British Columbia" ties together language, power, and identity and relates this triad to BC forests and perceptions of reality. He writes "if one group can gain control of language use, then it will control perceptions of the forest, and the battle for the forest as a resource will all but over-control the perception, control the reality" (Pickard 99). Most importantly though, is Pickard's recognition of Fawcett's illustrations of regionalism,

globalization, and community disintegration (109). Pickard quotes Fawcett, reiterating concern for northern communities:

> British Columbians are not afraid to understand or criticize our political, social, and intellectual culture. The problem most of us have is that we can't recognize any specific culture among the Disney icons, the televised incitements to violence and conspicuous consumption, and the consumer franchises that bleed local economies and cultures of their vitality (Fawcett qtd in Pickard 111).

It is this initial recognition from Fawcett and reiteration from Pickard that made me realize that though British Columbia's southern coast communities and northern communities have many cultural commonalities, because of regionalism, history, and globalization there are also many differing cultural aspects. Yet, the cultural uniqueness' of northern and southern British Columbia are the product of the symbolic understandings of immediate environments, and this is what informs and maintains general conceptions of British Columbia's landscapes. Yet, Fawcett is not the only BC writer who has recognized cultural connectivity with the province's forests.

There is a vast array of poetry that speaks of both the northern and southern logging communities. Ken Belford in his poem "The Heartland Strategy," depicts the logging industry in Northern British Columbia as a colonizing entity that takes over both the land and the cultures. Jacqueline Baldwin in her poem "Gyppo Faller" illustrates the importance of women to the forestry sector/community from a northern point of view. The term gyppo faller, coined by Margaret Felt, is used to describe family run independent-contract logging (Felt 1963). This type of logging business is an important characteristic of community make-up in Prince George, BC. In his book The

Arbutus/Madrone Files: Reading the Pacific Northwest (2002), Laurie Ricou provides a chapter that reflects on west coast logging themed poetry. Barry McKinnon, a Prince George resident, wrote "Pulp Log" (2004) which offers a response to logging and pollution in the north. George Stanley, from Terrace, illustrates the connection between forest and community in his poem "Terrace 87" (1992). There are also narratives that consider other cultural perspectives on logging in the province. Jeannette Armstrong, in her book Whispering in Shadows (2000), discusses logging from a First Nations point of view. Many of the narratives that address themes of forest-use have some sort of regional underpinnings. These literary texts show that cultures in BC inform and are informed by their local environment. However, because there is a multiplicity of discourses on forest use there needs to be a way to understand what this may mean for the future of BC's forests and forest communities.

II. Methodology and Further Theoretical Considerations

Narratives and Landscape

Literature acts as "a cultural activity...which goes on within a biosphere, [and] this enveloping natural world is a part of the subject on the printed pages before us. But even when it is not, it remains as a given, a part of our interpretive context, whether or not we choose to deal with it" (Love 16). De Certeau writes, "stories carry out a labour that constantly transforms places into spaces" (118). Activity and interactivity, the practice/praxis that unfolds in place, is brought out in literature, and this is readily evident in literature that thematically addresses resource dependant communities. With this understanding, I have decided to use authors from Prince George and Vancouver Island and their works as a means of understanding how culture is a part of a place within respective biospheres. My task is not to show the intricacies of cultural relationships with nature in specified locations, but rather to demonstrate that there are conflicting ideologies about human-nature relationships that are embedded in a symbolic conflict, that concerns forests. Though I have focused on two texts, one from each respective region, I have included a review of multiple texts from multiple authors who have illustrated the same sentiments as Fawcett and Kennedy. I have chosen to focus on Kennedy and Fawcett because they both allow the application of all the characteristics of Gifford's post-pastoral, which provides a rich analysis of the connection between residents and their natural environment.[9] Both Kennedy's and Fawcett's narratives are ontological postmodern considerations of humanity's ecological relationships: both books illustrate multiplicites of practice/praxis with/in ecosystems. Additionally, both these

[9] The post-pastoral does not require that all defining characteristics be present in a text to qualify it as post-pastoral. However, by using Fawcett's narrative, while considering Guattari's ecosophy I am able to construct a completely inclusive example.

narratives incorporate the pastoral theme of retreat and return and acknowledge the desire for a new golden age or Arcadia. Though both books are cultural comments on logging in British Columbia, the difference in thematic privileging (globalization versus cultural mobilization) illustrates seminal ideological differences between British Columbia's interior and West Coast region. However, despite the regional ideological differences, both books demonstrate that British Columbia's forests are important cultural icons and because of debates in forest use and policy, cultural constructions of the forest are contested.

Supporting Evidence

In order to contextualize the narratives used and the communities that they reflect, it is crucial to also examine the primary and secondary texts which take into account the local culture in general and forest use specifically that has been generated from those communities. These sources include surveys, community reports, and past academic research such as case studies (Maureen Reed's "Taking Stands: A Feminist Perspective on 'Other' Women's Activism in Forestry Communities of Northern Vancouver Island 2000"; Christine Callihoo's Participation Equality in the Public Policy Process the Clayoquot Landuse Decision (2002); Sara Pralle's Branching Out, Digging In: Environmental Advocacy and Agenda Setting (2006). However, there various studies regarding the Vancouver Islands port communities. Prince George on the other hand has minimal documentation on the relationship between culture and forest use, unless it is a statistical representation put forward by the government concerning socio-economic impacts ("Downtown Prince George Revitalization Study" 2001; "Prince George Land

and Resource Plan" 1997, Michelle Orster's "Survey on Public Perceptions of Air Quality" 1997). Vancouver Island, and its west coast in particular, have been extensively researched due to the scale of debate concerning old growth forest use [see Chapter 1]. For the most part, the respective research has focused on dichotomous arguments of pro-logging/anti-logging. These discussions are useful in that they have proven that there are contested forest use ideologies; however, they only consider the debate from a binary perspective. Furthermore, most of these texts do not take into consideration the connection between cultural identities, yet it is when all the texts are combined and read against local literature that we gain a sense of why there are contested ideologies and how identification with the forests develops differing cultural connections and ideologies.

Theoretical Approaches: Anthropology in Literature

Aside from applying sources that specifically discuss Vancouver Island's west coast and Prince George, general anthropological discussions on place and identity further help illustrate how and why contested ideologies over forest use exist. The narratives I use illustrate human activity and interactivity with special consideration given to ecology as well, for I go beyond examining the landscapes, and draw on environmental ethics to illustrate concerns with "environmental problems and the key[s] to their solutions" (Milton 5). The understanding gained from the anthropological considerations provides contextualization on both a micro and macro level (locally and globally).

Considerations of the connection between place and landscape can be integrated with discussions of environmental ethics. Anthropologists who have defined and

redefined the meaning of landscape have incorporated discussions of environmental ethics and ecology – the science of studying organisms in relation to their environment. However, this is done through the acknowledging elements of environmental exploitation (Tilley 19) or the loss of spaces (De Certeau 123). In terms of the forestry industry, I draw from anthropologists, specifically Ortner, Bourdieu, Ingold, and De Certeau, to show how culture is informed by the experiences of where people dwell. Experiences are informed by the activities in which we engage in within a landscape, and as such meaning is gathered from the landscape (Ingold "Temporality" 155). Differing perceptions of landscape are rudimentary to the contested ideologies of forest use in British Columbia, for landscape is "the world as it is known to those who dwell therein, who inhabit its places and journey along the paths connecting them" (156). For those living in Prince George or on the West Coast, nature, and specifically the forest, is a prominent defining variable of landscape.

Literary Analysis: The Post-Pastoral

Along with considering practice theory and the discussion of culture and landscape, as well as environmental ethics and ecology, I will also be considering discussions about (dis)/connection between humanity and their environments from a literary perspective. This includes using theorists that discuss literary representations of humanity and their landscapes. Due to the historical significance of pastoral ideology in relation to ecocriticism and the fact that Canadian eco-literature grew from pre/colonial pastoral representations, I believe that using a literary eco-theorist who discusses the pastoral is best suited for this project. There are two major sources that bring together

discussions of culture, ecology, and the literary pastoral: Glen Love's Ecocriticism: Ecology, Biology, and Literature and Terry Gifford's The Pastoral. In his book The Pastoral, Terry Gifford presents a way of narrating humanity's current relationship with nature while avoiding anthropocentric tendencies with his discussion of the post-pastoral: the post-pastoral is "literature that explores, within today's responsibilities, pastoral's traditional pattern of retreat and return" (Love 69). The pattern of retreat and return is seminal to the pastoral text, and this movement from city to wilderness is evident in both Fawcett's and Kennedy's texts. However, it is the ecocentric discourse that places these texts into the genre of the post-pastoral. Both texts reflect Gifford's outlined characteristics of the post-pastoral.

Gifford outlines six defining characteristics of the post-pastoral; even though not all of the qualities need to be present for a text to be considered post-pastoral (Gifford 156). However, in the case on Virtual Clearcut and Garden Club all defining characteristics are present. The six defining elements of the post-pastoral are as follows:

1. Experiences with nature can be humbling by evoking the senses and igniting an ideological shift to the ecocentric thinking (152)
2. There is "recognition of a creative-destructive universe equally in balance in a continuous momentum of birth and death, death and rebirth, growth and decay, ecstasy and dissolution" (153).
3. There is a connection between the inner human (biological) and outer physical world (156). This is what David Abram calls 'the recuperation of the incarnate, sensorial dimension of experience [which] brings with it a recuperation of the living landscape in which we are corporeally

embedded' (Abram qtd in Gifford 157). This is also similar to Ruskin's understanding of landscape; he argued for "a legal responsibility for the inheritance [of the earth]" that is "founded upon [a] belief that the character of a people is determined by their experience of their part of the earth, its climate, geology, topography, flora and fauna" (Gifford 160).

4. The fourth characteristic of the post-pastoral is to "convey an awareness of both nature as culture and culture as nature" (163). Gifford explains this a shift from anthropocentrism to ecocentrism. Gifford likens this idea to Gary Snyder's idea of *No Nature* (all culture is nature). Gary Snyder states that "the making of a satellite is of the same order as the making of a bird's nest" (162).

This point needs clarification, as it could fall victim to semantics – specifically the use of the word 'nature.' I think this point would be better applied if we substituted 'ecology' for 'nature.' Elements of our present day world often seem disconnected or at odds with the organic world, specifically in regards to technological developments. This disconnect can be reconsidered. For example, we could consider how the organic world manifests in cultural facets (like technology) that appear removed and disconnected from the organic world.

5. Gifford explains the fifth element of the post-pastoral ecological consciousness manifests as a conscience (163), whereby, witnessing nature becomes "a plea for environmentally sensitive local and global management" 165).

6. Finally, ecofeminists realize "that the exploitation of the planet is of the same mindset as the exploitation of women and minorities. The gift of conscience,

> given us by the form of consciousness of our species, must address both environmental and social exploitation at the same time if there is to be social justice *and* a place for it to be practiced" (165) Additionally, "concern for the exploitation of people (in terms of gender, class and race) must accompany concern for the environment (in terms of species, elements and atmosphere) and vice versa" (166). I believe that this characteristic is one of the most important and redeeming characteristics of the post-pastoral. Not only does it differentiate the post-pastoral from the postmodern pastoral, but in terms of any cultural analysis it is also important to examine aspects of power and oppression in order to gain a complete grasp of a culture's structure and the ways in which that structure confines lived experience and is open to change.

Most of the six characteristics outlined above are drawn from Romantic era definitions of pastoral literature, which was grounded in "a concrete understanding of the negative consequences of the social and technological complexity of life in an urban setting" (McKusick 29). Though post-pastoral narratives are not necessarily concerned with urban settings, post-pastoral narratives have retained the themes of retreat and return and acknowledgement of subjectivity, and a dream of an Arcadian civilization. The Romantic tradition of embracing subjectivity has become central to ecocritical and post-pastoral discourses, and therefore fosters a collective understanding between humanity and its ecological relations. Pastoral literature in the "age of environmental anxiety…is destined to engage us increasingly in the time ahead" (Love 69). Due to the "ungreening" of the world, current ecological debates have forced the recognition "of a natural reality beyond postmodernist constructions," and the pastoral provides an

excellent avenue for this recognition (69). The connection between postmodernism and the pastoral has become a recurring theme; postmodernism provides new critical understanding of humanity's relationship with the natural world.

The modern pastoral, in its many forms, continues to remind us of a historical past and future of landscape aesthetics and ethics, whether it is portrayed via a city garden or the northern tundra. In the pastoral sense, these sites can reflect inherent uncontrolled industrialization and urbanization. Like the acknowledgment of ecological disasters in postmodern pastoral writing, discussions of economy (especially concerning globalization) and dominant Western ideology are also seminal topics for understanding local current relationships with the natural world.

Connecting the Dots: Globalization and Forestry

Due to the nature of BC's economy, in this thesis I will be taking into consideration globalization's impact on communities. In 1972 the UN Conference on Human Environment, held in Stockholm, "framed the problem of environmental deterioration primarily as a byproduct of affluence [and] [t]he notion that human society was beginning to encounter 'limits of growth' strongly informed by ideas about the link between economic growth and environmental degradation" (Conca 54). Globalization is understood as a "macro trend," that includes both transnational production processes and developing irrelevance of borders (both regional and nationally) (56). More specifically, however, is the growing economic interdependence and the "deepening integration of capital markets" (57). Ken Conca encapsulates the impact of globalization in his article "Consumption and Environment in Global Economy." He argues that,

> globalization means not only quicker and more frequent transactions among separate national economic units, but also changes in their relations of power and authority that derive from reconstitution of the units themselves. These changes have profound impacts on work, community, power, and place that cannot be captured by viewing the world economy as an 'interstate system' marked by more frequent but still arms-length transactions in trade and finance. (57)

Conca's acknowledgement of the impact of globalization on community and related aspects of power are primary issues that are faced by British Columbians, especially those in forest-based communities. Because of globalization, people not embedded in these landscapes (forest based communities) that they hold the power over, and profit from the decisions they make regarding the activities (primarily logging) that takes place in BC forests. Furthermore, Conca's acknowledgement of a shift in power and authority (from state to corporation) is seminal to understanding the forces behind pollution and ecosystem degradation. In terms of British Columbia's forest economy, due to a dependence on export to dominant countries, there is a lack of leverage in fair trade bargaining (Hayter 711). Brian Fawcett, and many others in resource-based communities are making "demand[s] for greater control over natural-resource use management" (Hipwell 358). In his article "War in the Woods," Roger Hayter notes how "in B.C's case global forces have been intense and complex; globalization must be seen as a multidimensional (environmental and cultural) phenomenon" (725). Yet, in order to understand the complexity of global forces in British Columbia I must come back to the topic of practice and culture and further examine how cultures and ideologies are formed/deformed/reformed. For this further examination, I will tie together practice

theory (Ortner, Bourieu) and ecosophy, through an ecocentred discussion of Deleuze and Guattari's geophilosophy.

Geophilosophy

French philosopher Gilles Deleuze and poststructural psychoanalyst Felix Guattari's arguments concerning traditional Western thought provide a theoretical model that allows for understanding culture and the underpinnings of environmental and social calamities, which they call 'geophilosophy.' 'Geophilosophy' is "rooted in a critique of the very foundations of European thought" (Hipwell 359). The west's hierarchical system of thinking is, likened to that of a rooted tree (arboretum), whereby there are varied facets but one origin, constructed hierarchically (516). It is the concept of hierarchical thinking that Deleuze and Guattari problematize, because hierarchal thinking produces binaries and totalizing structures. Like other cultural theorists, such as Ortner and Bourdieu, Deleuze and Guattari recognize that cultures do exist in loosely organized structures. Deleuze and Guattari understand the world as made of multiplicities, but it is the notion of unities and the implementation of power that creates illusions of unity and homogeneity. Yet, Deleuze and Guattari also argue that culture is in context flux and perpetually changing due to, what they call, territorialization and deterritorialization. Territorialization is how they explain one thing affects another, whereby "two becomings interlink and form relays in a circulation of intensities pushing the deterritorialization further" (519). This is a symbiotic process that Deleuze and Guattari liken to the relationships between an orchid and a wasp. Both the orchid and the wasp multiply, and though they appear heterogeneous as unrelated objects, they still both spread and grow in

relation to one another due their symbiotic relationship (519). This idea can work hand in hand with practice theory. The ways in which we live out life, and the activities and interactivity that we take part in shapes and reshapes structure or simply territorializes and reterritorializes. Practice can be thought of as part of territorialization. Furthermore, that which has been territorialized can be likened to Bourdieu's concept of the habitus and heterodoxy and orthodoxy – the way in which we live, things in which we take part in and the things in which we do not question (Bourdieu 164). Deterritorialization can be put in relation to praxis –the things that we do, say, and think, either consciously or unconsciously that relate to agency and the ability to change the structure.

Culture is the nucleus of social life and is continually in the state of collapsing and rebuilding (de/reterriorializing) (519). Culture marks space, and the meanings that are produced through territorialization results in "complex aggregate of texts...and practices." (Wise 300). [10] British Columbia's forests are "marked spaces," or "territories." Territorialization, via cultural 'practices', is patterned and creates/reinforces organization, which creates cultural repetition, specifically in the meanings that construct space (302). Organization masks the chaos of the unterritorialized/deterritorialized space. However, the way meaning is constructed through culture can end up resonating (also known as repletion); the resonating is like a rhythm, or a refrain to a song, that fuses "temporal and spatial dimensions" (Wise 302). Rhythm and temporal and spatial dimensions as aspects of culture are concepts also used by theorists such as Ingold, or Bourdieu; these are concepts that I will discuss shortly.

[10] Wise is drawing from Henri Levebvre's Production of Space.

Guattari's Ecosophy

I am drawing on Guattari because I believe his concentration on and approach to subjectivity are crucial to understanding how any shift in western ideologies regarding environmental ethics can occur. In his book Chaosmosis: An Ethico-Aesthetic Paradigm, Guattari argues that a consideration of the production of subjectivity needs to take place and a resingularization of subjectivity is fundamental to promoting "molecular revolutions," whereby "[the] only acceptable finality of human activity is the production of a subjectivity that is auto-enriching in its relation to the world in a continuous fashion" (21). The resingularization of subjectivity is a "process of reordering ourselves and our relation to the world" (O'Sullivan 129). This consideration of subjectivity supports a capacity to deal with the cruel realities of our current social and ecological predicaments. The resingularization of subjectivity is not only "auto-enriching" (self-improving), but also the process itself "restores to existence what we might call its auto-essentialisation" (self-necessary) (Guattari 20). The resingularization of subjectivity helps people move away from negative cultural *rhythms*, thus "resingularizing themselves" (7). Like Bourdieu, Guattari discusses the aspect of cultural rhythm. Bourdieu explains rhythm as "doing one's duty as a means of conforming to social order, [it] is fundamentally a question of respecting rhythms, keeping pace, not falling out of line" (157). What Guattari is proposing is that there are practices that are part of western cultural rhythm, which are negative in respect to ecological well-being. It is these negative rhythms that need to be reterritorialized. Of most interest is how Guattari connects this to aesthetics. Different activities/practices take on aesthetic, deterritorializing functions (O'Sullivan

129). Guattari argues that aesthetics play an important role in understanding the development of subjectivity and in turn the creation of an ethico-aesthetic paradigm.

Aesthetics is both a fundamental element in understanding the resingularization of subjectivity because of its relationship to 'creation,' both in the creation process of art itself and in the creation of a "new art of living" (Guattari 20). The interpretation of the aesthetic object (music, poetry) is part of the creation process – but instead of thinking in terms of only art itself as aesthetic, all things must be considered aesthetically, or in their subjective sense i.e. "subjective capitalism" (15). If humanity could recognize the importance in the creation of subjectivity, a movement into an aesthetic paradigm could occur, and in considering subjectivity's creative processes a shift away from the scientific to the human/social science paradigm would occur; this in-turn develops into the "ethico-aesthetic paradigm" (Guattari 10).

Aesthetics is understood as possessing a deterritorializing function. Being aesthetically aware has the potential to inform ethics: "the new aesthetic paradigm has ethico-political implications because to speak of creation is to speak of the responsibility of the creative instance with regard to the thing created" (Guattari 107). Furthermore, there is recognition of the "axiological tension" (there is an interplay between aesthetic and ethical value) associated with the aesthetic object. The connection between ethics and aesthetics is simply the ethics of seeing/speaking (107); it is "inventing a new way of thinking-speaking that dislodges the traditional relationships struck between word and world" (Halsey 35). Specifically, we need to be cautious of how we imagine or speak of the environment, and in order for this to occur, "the refoundation of politics will have to

pass through aesthetic and analytic dimensions implied in the three ecologies –the environment, the socius and the psyche" (Guattari 20).

The Three Ecologies: The Environment, The Socius, and The Psyche.

Guattari's discussions on the three ecologies are comparable to Arne Naess' discussions of "deep ecologies ecological philosophy," otherwise known as "ecosophy" (Haigh 247). Though Naess states there are multiple ecosophies, his being "Ecosophy T"[11] (247), Guattari does not make reference to Naess, and, unlike Naess, Guattari is less concerned with the rights of nature and spiritual connections. Rather, Guattari focuses on the ability of subjectivities to transform the "fabric of social solidarity" and "modes of physical life" (Guattari 20). Guattari argues that we must change how we think (a "mutation in mentalities") in order to contend with ecological crises, such as atmospheric pollution and over-population. The three ecologies are defined as follows: (1) the environment can be understood as that which is not human, the world that 'surrounds' humanity; (2) The socius can be understood as all that is human, such as cultures and cultural elements (identities, ideologies, symbols, and discourses; and (3) The psyche is best understood in an existential sense, whereby people have an awareness of consciousness (the act of being conscious – existing in time and space) and an awareness of their mental processes. Although defined separately, the three ecologies are at all times interconnected and in no way can they be compartmentalized – they exist only in relation

[11] The "T" refers to a mountain named Tvergastein. Naess often visited the mountain and explained it as a site where he would come to think and write about nature. He believes that everyone should have such a site in their lives, and that such a place is where people would come up with their own ecosophy.

to each other. As interconnected, the three ecologies are considered in terms of scale as well, with the environment falling into the macro scale/the outer world, the social as the intermediate scale/everything, and the psyche as the micro scale/the inner world. In other words, the three ecologies consider the world that surrounds us, the world that we participate in everyday, and the world's effects on self-reflection and individuality. Though it appears that culture is removed from the environment and psyche because it is given a category of its own, all elements are cultural. We cannot talk about the environment, even as a discussion of science without considering culture, and of course we cannot talk about the psyche as being something detached from culture either. These categories are just different ways of talking about culture, and we must keep in mind that all are connected to the activity and interactivity in which we take part in. Understanding the three ecologies means understanding that "earthly spheres, social tissues and the world of ideas are not compartmentalized" (Genosko 5).

Though the socius and environment are equally important for their own reasons, it is the psyche (at the molecular level) that generates changes in mentalities through the production of subjectivity and deterritorialization/reterritorialization. Yet, this process works backwards; these ecologies are intertwined, and destruction of ecology inevitably affects the social and mental realms. That is ecological crises are a part of social and existential crises (Guattari 119). Mirroring Guattari's sentiments, David Kinder writes

> [a]s mind and nature are intertwined within healthy ecosystems, so the agents of their destruction are covertly related, working for the same aims. These fundamental aims are the destruction of the fabric of the world, the division of the

> mind and natures, human and animal, and so on, reinforcing the illusion of 'naturally separate realms through the occlusion of what unites them (56).

David Kinder, comparable to Felix Guattari, Gregory Bateson, and Arne Naess, reiterates the need for coming to an understanding of how everything in our universe is intimately connected.

In the next two chapters, I will illustrate how Gifford's characteristics can be placed within Guattari's three ecologies. I will also demonstrate that a reader can gain an understanding of a culture's interconnectivity with its natural environment by examining instances of characters taking part in the traditional pastoral pattern of retreat and return. Simply put, post-pastoral texts that are read with an ecosophic lens illustrate the *inarguable* interconnection between humanity, the natural world, and the multiplicity of symbolic systems defining 'connectivity.'

III. The Spruce Capital – Reading the Central Interior

Brian Fawcett, though raised in Prince George, writes "Virtual Clearcut: The Way Things Are in My Hometown from the perspective of an outsider. Fawcett connects logging, globalization, and Prince George to show the connections between the existential realm, culture, and the natural world. Fawcett's Virtual Clearcut: The Way Things Are in My Hometown is difficult to place in a literary genre. Fawcett refuses to acknowledge it as a piece of creative non-fiction, which he argues that most readers define it as such, but Fawcett argues that the term 'creative non-fiction,'

> betrays a prejudice against the inclusive epistemology of art. Its specialist posture seems to suppose that it can establish empirically-sound factualities and coding even while it claims that its verity lies in the realm of creative imagination. Thus, it pretends to objectivity while using creativity to shelter it from the rules of discourse and evidence. I don't think writers can or should have this both ways. ("Against Creative Non-Fiction")

I have decided to respect Fawcett's challenge to the "corporate" labeling of Virtual Clearcut; though his narrative reads like a novel, the truth found in Fawcett's discussions of people, places, and politics is more "documentation than dogma," which characterizes such narratives as "testimonial documentary" rather than creative non-fiction ("Against Creative Non-Fiction"). Virtual Clearcut relates the accounts of Fawcett's experiences of Prince George, British Columbia. Fawcett makes four trips to Prince George and the Bowron, and with each visit he illustrates both the causes and effects of change for the

two spaces. [12] It becomes evident that reckless land use undeniably affects both ecology and society: community is influenced by landscape. The terrestrial clearcut is also a social and psychological clearcut. Fawcett questions the role of science and values the power of subjectivity; he proposes that cultural connections to the landscape (other than by logging) must be acknowledged and justified. However, it is the emphasis on the role of psychological implications of post-pastoral considerations that ultimately provides a concretized understanding of the interconnectedness of Prince George and its people and natural environment. At times, Fawcett takes an ecocentric approach, whereby he gives a voice to humanity and nature, drawing attention to the need for both social and ecological welfare. This mediates any anthropocentric or biocentric tendencies. Fawcett argues how the people of Prince George envision the city is analogous to how they envision the wilderness, but concludes this has created a transient town lacking in community pride. By the end of the narrative, what began as two separate spaces becomes one organic entity constructed by a mental ecology. Fawcett concludes that shifts in collective ecological ideologies are imperative. The major themes that Fawcett draws on in Virtual Clearcut are social ecology, logging, globalization, and community deterioration.

My reading of the connections Fawcett makes is based on my interpretations of western cultural experiences or understandings of the social and existential, as well as understandings of the natural environment. Culture shapes our realities, as culture can be understood as an assemblage of texts based on a symbolic system of communication.

[12] Located 80km southeast of Prince George, the Bowron Valley is an area home to the Bowron lakes, which flow to a confluence with the Fraser River. Due to abnormally warm weather conditions in the mid 1970s, a major windstorm and an increase in the Spruce Beetle infestation ravaged the upper Bowron. Government officials decided to increase allowable annual cutting in order to minimize the damage done by the Spruce beetle. By the mid 1980s, over 700 loads of trees left the upper Bowron each day. The area logged is so expansive that it can be seen from space. Though the forest management practices used in the Bowron during the mid 1980s are questionable, much insight into forestry and pest management was gained and has been used to mitigate current losses due to the Pine beetle epidemic (Cozens, Russ).

Culture, though fragmented yet also loosely structured, is defined by, shaped by and rooted in power struggles and general conflict [see chapter 1 page 1].

In Virtual Clearcut Fawcett presents the interconnectedness of culture and ecology, which he presents through illustrations of Prince George and the Bowron clearcut. These illustrations are presented in such a way that both the city and the clearcut are seen as analogous in numerous ways. Fawcett's objective discussions reveal the severity of ecological and civil damage, while his subjective considerations place emphasis on the necessity of humanity's dependence on and role within local ecology. In Virtual Clearcut he incorporates his knowledge of forestry and memories of local community to facilitate a dialogue on the relationship of land use and culture. Fawcett's narrative mirrors Felix Guattari's ecosophic discussion of subjectivity and environmental ethics. Also, his back and forth visiting of Prince George and the Bowron mirror the pastoral tradition of retreat and return. However, due to the ecological discourse of this text it falls into what could be considered the post-pastoral. This has allowed me to consider the subjective human-nature relationships without being solely anthropocentric, meaning that both culture and environment/ecology are given equal consideration, neither culture nor the environment are voiceless. In short, approaching Fawcett's post-pastoral narrative with an ecosophic lens provides a rich analysis of the relationship between culture and ecology in Prince George, while highlighting associated contested ideologies regarding forest use.

To highlight the contested ideologies concerning forest use, Fawcett outlines major movements in logging history. Outlining logging history illustrates the development of local culture, a culture shaped from resource dependence. In almost every

chapter the reader is given snippets of Prince George history and though not always directly related to logging, the underlying theme is ever-present. In chapter one, Fawcett discusses the growth of Prince George and implies that growth is connected to forestry: "by...1958 the population of Prince George had grown to 14,000. That year the city fathers adopted a civic mascot...named Mr. PeeGee" (12). Fawcett continues to connect the development of the city with the development with natural resource extraction. He states that when the economy was booming, people talked about Prince George having at least 100,000-500,000 residents. Fawcett explains that this idea was a product of believing that "the resources [were] infinite and self-renewing, and the only limits visible were those of human imagination and commercial confidence" (13). Furthermore, Fawcett completely ignores the fact that during the logging of the Bowron the interior was facing a very similar beetle epidemic, which was also driving harvesting rates upwards (Ministry of Forests, 1981). However, overall, Fawcett does acknowledge important pieces of history, which are used to set up the 'story's' central discussion of the connections between the ecological and social clearcuts of Prince George.

Fawcett's text is more than a historical presentation of Prince George's connection to logging. Reading Fawcett's text as a post-pastoral narrative informed by Guattari's ecosophic ideologies allow us to engage in a deeper understanding of Prince George's colonial culture and its interconnectedness with the forest. Virtual Clearcut, a piece of "literature that explores, within today's responsibilities, pastoral's traditional pattern of retreat and return," is also imbued with community politics (Love 69). The six

characteristics of the post-pastoral are all evident in Fawcett's text. Furthermore these characteristics also categorically fit into Guattari's three ecologies.[13]

From the events, conversations, and inner dialogues presented in Virtual Clearcut, there is an obvious interconnection between what Guattari would call the socius, psyche, and environment. The connection between the three ecologies and the recognizable pattern of retreat and return allows for the integration of major concepts presented in Guattari's ecosophic discussions and Gifford's post-pastoral discussions. Though I have spoken of each separately, I will briefly outline how these two theories can be put together. For example the post-pastoral demonstrates how culture is understood as part of nature and nature as part of culture: this is understood as how communities affect and are affected by nature (Gifford 157). The ways in which we live our daily lives can be greatly affected and even changed permanently by ecological changes. Additionally, I would like to suggest that at this point in history, ecological changes are for the most part directly related to culture – as most ecological changes are a product of modern industrialization. Ecology affects practice. This post-pastoral characteristic and focus on practice/praxis fall into the category of the socius. Also included in considerations of the socius is the post-pastoral's addressing of minorities and women (162), whereby similarities are seen in the oppressive treatment of minorities, women, and nature. As with practice theory, there is a necessity in addressing the ways in which power and oppression operate.

Guattari's next category, the environment, can be assigned to the post-pastoral as well: similar to Gifford, Gifford recognizes the universe's creative-destructive powers both as part of and removed from humanity (180). Guattari's ecology of the environment

[13] Refer to pages 49 to 51 for an outline of the six characteristics of the post-pastoral.

also includes the post-pastoral recognition of external nature as interwoven with internal (human) nature (Gifford 158). This is the more abstract human connection to nature, whereby the external biotic (the natural world) affects the human biotic (such as health and wellness).

Finally, the post-pastoral relates to the third ecology, the psyche. Cognitively, the perceiver of nature is humbled (173): it is part of personal experiences that produce feelings such as humility, powerlessness, or appreciation. Guattari's third category, the psyche, can be associated with the post-pastoral understanding of being rooted in consciousness and the existential with adherence to a biocentric ideology and with desires for individual responsibility. The post-pastoral calls for a realization of how each of us perceives our natural environment, and for the recognition that the natural environment can affect how we think. By examining an individual's experience in nature and by examining Fawcett's work on the role of subjectivity, I can focus on examples of certain moments of agency/praxis that takes place within a culture. For instance, I consider how someone questioning their cultural rhythms or even sub-consciously challenging what goes unquestioned can spark cultural movement. I believe it is important to note that, though never stated by Guattari, we can look at the three ecologies as different foci on that which is cultural.

Central Interior Resource Based Environments

In Virtual Clearcut, Brian Fawcett discusses both the biotic and abiotic, which includes trees, soil, air, and even urban structures. In this 'dogmatic documentation,' Fawcett examines the Bowron clearcut and makes observations on the state of the

environment. At first, the clearcut appears to be an area of massive ecological destruction: logging has left nothing but sludgy rivers and choking weeds suffocating seedlings (64). Fawcett describes nature here as "a gigantic nothing that almost defies description" (64). Aside from the trees, Fawcett discusses the importance of soil to forests; he acknowledges there is an important chemical cycle that takes place between the soil and the trees. He asks a friend: "What about soil degradation? If you are pulling all the carbon out of the ground, aren't you going to have to pay the price?"(257). This respective statement demonstrates that Fawcett outwardly acknowledges the importance of the biotic. Yet, in Virtual Clearcut, Fawcett's acknowledgment of the biotic world goes beyond just forest ecosystems.

Brain Fawcett also draws attention to the complicated matter of air pollution in Prince George. He states "the stink from the pulp mills that assails us long before we can see the city is a pungent, sulphuric aroma just short of acidity (23). Fawcett says that the air pollution caused from a city driven by forest products is astonishing. For many Prince George residents, air's smell is a constant reminder of the city's poor air quality (Oster 52). Prince George is more susceptible to poor air quality due to its topography. A study released in 2001 examined the "incidence of high concentrations of particulate matter, which has raised considerable concern because of potential health hazards" (Breed, Arocena, and Sutherland 1721). The three pulp mills in Prince George are contributors to increased sulphur levels (1723). For Fawcett (as a former resident), and for many others in Prince George, identity dictates discourse; therefore identification with the forest from a preservationist/conservationist perspective fosters the belief that the pulp mills are the sole reason behind the city's bad air quality. However, Fawcett ignores the fact that there

are multiple variables that affect Prince George's air quality, such as an oil refinery, sand on the roads during winter, beehive burners, combustion, and geological material (Breed, Arocena and Sutherland 1721). Furthermore, it is convenient that Fawcett does not bother mentioning that the Husky Oil Refinery is as much a contributor to the sulphuric smell as the pulp mills are. In short, though Fawcett tries to discuss the environment from an objective stance, the discourse used illustrates that he cannot escape personal subjectivities. However, in the post-pastoral sense, illustrating that air pollution does exist and is a product of the forestry sector, Fawcett alludes to the connection between environment and human health. Furthermore, issues such as forest degradation or air pollution affect culture, and will therefore manifest through variables such as ideologies or practices.

Central Interior Resource Based Psyches

Both Fawcett and Guattari place emphasis on mental ecology, which concerns the psyche. Similar to the socius and environment, the psyche is also seen as contributing to environmental and social problems. Notably, it is the production of subjectivity that is integral to mental ecology; it is the psyche that produces subjectivity (Guattari 21)

For Guattari, in Chaosmosis, the psyche creates 'subjectivities,' but it is a singular subjectivity based on ethical and aesthetic variables that will, he suggests, enable a mental and therefore social revolution.

How people conceptualize ecology can greatly differ. Guattari argues the differing conceptualizations are problematic and that there must be a "resingularization of subjectivity," which results in an ideological revolution (21). Mental ecology contains a

biocentric ideology that is rooted in aesthetics. By changing how we think as individuals, we can facilitate the overall ideological change. Like Guattari, Fawcett argues for ecological responsibility by illustrating recognition and appreciation of the aesthetics of nature, and thus places emphasis on the validity of subjectivity. Ortner, on a discussion of art and subjectivity quotes Geertz saying "subjectivity does not properly exist until it becomes organized, art forms generate and regenerate the very subjectivity they pretend only to display. Quartets, still lifes, and cockfights are not merely reflections of a pre-existing sensibility analogically presented; they are positive agents in the creation and maintenance of such a sensibility" (Ortner "Subjectivity" 39). This is the resingularization of subjectivity, it is the creation and maintenance of sensibility, and rather than speaking of rituals and music, here we are talking about the environment and the movement toward an "ethico-aesthetic paradigm."

Fawcett focuses on how logging has stripped the aesthetic value from the forests and the community. It is not until the end of the narrative that Fawcett connects positive thoughts/emotions with aesthetically pleasing places. Fawcett begins his narrative by introducing the aesthetically displeasing side of the clearcuts found along Highway 16 outside of Prince George. On page 5 of Virtual Clearcut, Fawcett states: "A clearcut is ugly from near or far. Worse than that, it is dull. There's nothing to see or hear inside it because the trees have been removed, and that makes the sightlines a monotone of nothingness, even close up." Fawcett explains why aesthetic value has never been given to the forests of northern BC. He argues, "the forests of northern British Columbia are among the least glamorous on the continent. The dominant species grow slowly, they're neither noble nor grand, and they aren't characteristically covered in the kinds of

picturesque mosses and lichens that attract nature photographers or professional ecologists" (46). This is a particularly insightful remark; Fawcett notes the problems of traditional western ideologies concerning placing value on nature due to interpretations of a 'pleasing aesthetic,' which may be because western culture has placed limits on what we are to consider as picturesque. For instance the media, on a global scale, during the protests in Clayoquot Sound glamorized the rainforests of BC's westcoast by drawing on the picturesque qualities, and this may have created limits on what is now considered to be the noble and grand forests of BC. Everyone worries about the loss of BC rainforests but there is little mention locally or internationally about the loss of the boreal forest – and if it is mentioned it is tied to economic loss. Protesting the clearcuts in and around Prince George has never been a front-page issue and the protest that have taken place in the north concerning clearcuts have been in the Great Bear Rainforest, east of Prince George. Again, this is a special, localized place, adored for its 'grandness, mosses, and lichens,' and therefore generally seen as aesthetically pleasing.

Aesthetics have been closely related to the treatment of landscape for hundreds of years. These aesthetic approaches have influenced and been influenced by both landscape and economics. The history of Western culture's connections to nature has shaped how places are thought of and therefore treated. One of the best examples is how different spaces were treated during the settlement of British Columbia. For instance, wetlands, seen as aesthetically displeasing, were encouraged to be removed, and at the same time clearing forests became a public offense; ironically, destroying wetlands was seen as a "public duty" (Meyer 108). The 'nature aesthetic' tradition had rendered them useless: "swamps evoked the reactions they had evoked in the colonial period: disgust at

their sight, and smell" (108). However, recognizing that aesthetics has been both positive and negative for ecological decision-making, there are several important arguments that rectify this concern. First, and foremost, Guattari and Gifford as theorists both place ecological responsibility at the centre of their discussions. Nature as a whole is to be viewed as beautiful and should invoke feelings of beauty. Nature is to be seen as a work of art, and it is the process of creation/metamorphosis that is seen as inherently beautiful. Lastly, for Guattari specifically, the acknowledgment and validation of subjectivity is central to how we perceive or think about nature. As a response to anthropocentric treatments of nature, many modern ecocritics argued for the removal of humanity from ecological debates, which I believe is absolutely impossible. I agree with Neil Everden that ecology is not truly ecology without the inclusion of humanity, which means culture. Furthermore, aesthetics is rudimentary to ecological debates: "environmentalism without aesthetics is merely regional planning" (Everden 102). However, the most important point that ecocritics such as Gifford, Everden or Guattari are making is that if aesthetics were understood as inherently connected to responsible motivations, the planet would suffer fewer ecological disasters. Guattari explains that this occurs in existential territories whereby our understanding of aesthetics, nature, and beauty is completely rebuilt (21). This perspective is evident in Fawcett's narrative.

Another prime example of Fawcett using the aesthetics of place to explain human motivation, or the lack thereof, occurs via his trip to Salmon Valley,[14] which he remembers as a place of seductive beauty, but his return ends with him cleaning up sixty-one six-pack collars; he is overwhelmed by an array of garbage: "styrofoam cups...empty pop bottles and beer cans...broken glass...disposable diapers...cardboard, grocery bags,

[14] Salmon Valley is 23 Km north of Prince George.

and car parts" (73). Fawcett blames the nature of western economics for moving humanity (the people of Prince George in particular) away from nature and further into the world of commodities, which has thus resulted in the befouling of his childhood "swimming hole":

> As I am stuffing the collars into the trunk of my car, it comes to me that this might be the truest product of the unleashed capitalism everyone is talking about. Whatever happened to the enchantment and to the sense of democracy that makes what is public both the property and responsibility of everyone? (73)

Fawcett provides here an example of what Guattari seeks: the aesthetic content of this space produces the ethical object. However, Fawcett's example is an inversion of Guattari's argument: because humanity has become so far removed from nature (ie. the swimming hole) as a place of aesthetic appreciation, the 'ethical content' is lost. Though Fawcett provides numerous examples of how the lack of aesthetic appreciation correlates to "creatures that foul their own nests" (74), at the end of the book he does provide a final image that is positive, the narrative ends with Kent Sedgwick (a friend of Fawcett's) sending an email that explains why the Millar Addition area of Prince George is so beautiful:

> you may not believe this" he wrote, "but I think I know how the Millar Addition got its elm trees. Planting was started on Elm Street sometime in the early 1960s after a $300 donation from a couple who live on the street. After that, the City just kept on planting them. (320)

It was community initiative fueled by aesthetic appreciation that made this area of the community beautiful and pleasant to live in. Early in the narrative, Fawcett notes, "the

Millar Addition has aged more gracefully than most of Prince George" (28). Fawcett dedicates a chapter to Elm Street, which is one of the oldest and most beautiful streets in Prince George. Upon Fawcett's third visit he notices the elm trees' growth and says, "these trees are now as beautiful as they are unique. They're unique because there are few mature elms left in North America" (223). Fawcett equates the quality of life in this area of town with the beauty of the elm trees. For Fawcett, and those living in the Millar Addition, they experience the post-pastoral notion of nature as humbling, as illustrated by Gifford. The experience is humbling because it has evoked the senses in such a way that there becomes an ecocentric understanding of nature's beauty. Not only does Fawcett, as do the residents of Elm Street, acknowledge the beauty but also there is acknowledgement of the elm tree's uniqueness because of its current ecological fragility elsewhere in the world. Their aesthetic appreciation of the elm trees facilitates a notion of ecological responsibility, even if it is directed only upon the trees in their area. However, this particular reference to nature is somewhat contradictory to Fawcett's overall position regarding the natural world. For instance, in the conversation he has with the forestry officials, as well as in his description of the destruction of the 'swimming hole', he argues that nature should be pristine and untouched, but the trees on Elm Street are a foreign species, and are an example of monocultural planting, which is 'unnatural'. Additionally, monocultural planting is a product of cultural value placement, which he criticizes, as witnessed in his discussion of the media glamorizing rainforests. Yet, Fawcett's discussion of the trees of Elm Street demonstrates how we think about nature and how nature affects how we think. By examining and comparing the works of these

authors we see how humanity is not separated from the larger context of ecology, and, therefore, is intertwined with the workings of the socius.

Central Resource Based Socius

Fawcett addresses the post-pastoral issue of how a community affects, and can be affected by, the natural world. Also, Fawcett addresses the post-pastoral concerns of the relation between minorities, women, and ecology. These post-pastoral indicators can be placed within Guattari's definition of the Ecology of the socius. Ecology of the socius combines issues of social and environmental justice, and addresses issues of globalization, local economics, politics, and cultural difference (Guattari 21). Ecology of the socius is the collection of particular cultural elements as discussed in relation to nature. Fawcett's work, in the post-pastoral sense, presents the ecology of the socius through his illustrations of Prince George and the Bowron.

Prince George, for Brian Fawcett, is a city in which metamorphosis of uninhabited nature parallels cultural changes such as economic cycles, shifts in values, and migration/emigration patterns. By highlighting numerous instances of cultural and environmental changes, Fawcett demonstrates that understanding the interconnectedness of Prince George and its surrounding ecological habitat cannot be reduced to simple factors such as boom-bust cycles. The life of the forest and the city act as one organic entity, whereby if one suffers or becomes stronger so does the other. The changes that affect this 'organic entity' can be the economy, weather, culture, epidemics (both human and non-human), and/or politics. Fawcett draws an obvious parallel to the destruction of forested areas with the degeneration of the city of Prince George. For the most part this

occurs through analogous illustrations of the environment as negative in both urban Prince George and the Bowron. Fawcett attributes the deregulation frenzy of the 1970s as the cause of civic degeneration and environmental degradation:

> Prince George's big city wannabe civic projects with the subsequent onslaught of private developments that mostly look like they came out of an architecture kit of 'worst and don'ts' of the past forty years...the deregulation frenzy...bordered on civil anarchy – or at least developer insurrections that parallel the cutting of the Bowron in their extremity (86).

It was apparent that during the 1970s and 80s local decision makers treated the city and the forests in very similar ways, both spaces acted as arenas for uncontrolled profiteering. Fawcett takes four trips to the Bowron clearcut south of Prince George. With each trip to both spaces, Fawcett is looking for signs of improvement to the city and Bowron cleacut, which take ten years to show any real sign of substantial regeneration.

Fawcett focuses most of his discussion on downtown Prince George, a site that becomes emblematic of how communities sometimes fall apart. When he arrives in Prince George for his first trip, which took place in 1990, he introduces downtown Prince George as "too damned depressing for a kid" (24). Fawcett argues that the downtown space has degenerated as a result of the logging industry (45). The buildings are not maintained and business spaces are empty; downtown looks like a ghost town. In January 2001, shortly following the release of Virtual Clearcut, a two-volume publication on downtown Prince George was conducted for the city. Volume I, "The Context", provides a summary which states that of four surveys given to the people of Prince George, revitalizing downtown was a top priority. Like Fawcett, older residents of Prince

George had a pessimistic attitude that "things would never change" (Urbanics Consultants 2). However, because of the temporality of Fawcett's work, and the attention paid to detail, he illustrates that the city, and the Bowron, are much more complex. Progress is not linear: improvements are made while at the same time other aspects are neglected and take a turn for the worse.

The discussions of nature and city in Virtual Clearcut are frequently separate; however, the narrative reveals the similarities and interconnectedness of each discussion. After I asked friends and colleagues, in lectures and at conferences, how they and others have responded to the book, it was clear most people felt concerned with Fawcett's depiction of Prince George. Yet, when residents of Prince George were surveyed on their perception of the city and community, the responses of people were the same as Fawcett's: they wanted the city to clean up the garbage and improve the aesthetics (Urbanics Consultants 7).

Though Fawcett's discussions appear to be objective, he never provides scientific details (they are all opinions and conjectures), which may or may not be culturally accepted. Fawcett includes a discussion with a friend, and Prince George resident, named Billy about human nature and ecology. Billy states that humans have a right to use the forest as they can take what they want and get out, then "go to sleep until the stink fades" (199). He concludes that how humans use nature is comparable to other animals. For Billy, nature is not about aesthetics and ethics; it is about survival. Billy recognizes the importance of economic sustainability, and that the effects of logging are not black and white. While Fawcett only sees the cleacuts around Prince George as devastated landmasses, Billy sees the cultural relevance of sustaining a community based on

logging. Billy agrees that there are problems with the large corporations, but notes that the community and families benefit from the "fair bit of money flowing back into town - at least from the logging side, which is still done by independents" (199). Fawcett brings up the Bowron again as a point of argument, stating that logging has gone too far. This leads the conversation to the effects of beetle infestations, where they argue the validity of logging beetle-infested areas. However, Billy mentions both the changes in the forest industry and the community. Due to globalization, logging in Prince George has shifted from multiple small-scale operations to minimal large-scale corporations. This has resulted in fleeting profits, which has changed the demography in unprecedented ways (199). Fawcett argues that similar to the mass migration of people that occurred in Prince George, the profits of logging have also flown out to the larger regions of the province, such as Vancouver and Victoria. Billy disagrees; emigration has changed as well, and those who move to Prince George are staying and have become "community minded" (200). Billy presents the idea that possibly changes in treatment of ecology have resulted in changes of treatment in community solidarity. Finally, Fawcett's conversation with Billy is one of many examples of the reality of contested discourses concerning forest use in BC.

When discussing the socius, it is important to evaluate Fawcett's treatment of local symbolism. Mr. PeeGee, the community's mascot, was first built out of wood. Mr PeeGee is understood as a symbol that connects community to its economical roots of forestry. However, Fawcett provides a much more complicated and critical analysis. He notes that the original mascot was "a serious target for pranksters and yahoos" (103); furthermore Fawcett notes the irony of the symbol itself, both as representative of Prince

George and community pride. For the city, Mr. PeeGee signifies the city as the "White Spruce Capital." Although Black Spruce is more abundant than White, because Black Spruce is "unusable" it was not included in the city's iconography. In other words trees for Prince George are only considered notable based on their value. Ironically, a smaller version of Mr. PeeGee was built downtown and owned by the telephone company. Fawcett writes

> the latter-day version is different in that it has been downscaled, infused with a lots of plastic, and is the property not of the city but of the telephone company...this new Mr. PeeGee turns out to be a much tougher customer than its ancestor...it could survive a nuclear blast (103).

The new Mr. PeeGee ruptures the past signification, and for Fawcett, and his friend Barry McKinnon, it becomes a symbol of corporate involvement within the community, a symbolic representation of the globalization of Prince George. It becomes evident that Mr. PeeGee's symbolism is polysemic, whereby symbolic interpretations of Mr. PeeGee are informed by differing ideologies concerning forest 'value.' Aside from the general reading of the socius informed by symbolic interpretation, relations between minorities, women, and ecology (which are post-pastoral indicators) also fall into the socius category.

Fawcett pays particular attention to the role and treatment of First Nations in Prince George. Drawing parallels to the treatment of land and minorities, Fawcett demonstrates this analogy with reference to the Carrier Nation:

> The Carrier village at the mouth of the Blackwater River, for instance...was later wiped out by smallpox and other diseases brought by Euros. And during the

> 1950s, the site was made useless even for archeological reclamation when it was used as a log marshalling area and river drop by a logging company. (96)

The respective discussion is an analogy of the colonization of people and land. Colonization, from both countries and corporations has impacted both minorities and the landscape, which often results in pressures for homogeneity and standardization of cultural power (Wyile 15). Fawcett also acknowledges feminist perspectives by noting that decisions made about the bush are a product of male only involvement (generally): "since this book has nearly an all-male cast, it had better acknowledge the dysfunction of the global Buddy System that builds clearcuts and steals livelihoods and dignity of good people" (172). Though Fawcett touches on the role of women in logging/forestry his acknowledgements are minor, and most likely a preemptive strike at those who will acknowledge this predominantly androcentric narrative. Though women may not play a major role in the field, their role as active members of logging communities is undeniable. Women tend to be the ones who develop grassroots movements whether they are for saving the economic integrity of their communities or saving the ecological wonders of their landscape(s) (Reed 6).

Contested Ideologies: Preserved Central Interior Landscapes

The interrelation of the three ecologies produces and reproduces ideologies, identities, and discourses. British Columbians' identities are a product of their identification with the forests. Many see the forest as "icons of place" (Ricou 1), in terms of economics, pleasure, politics, or personal history. The production of eco-ideologies depends on how we understand landscape, which, as part of culture, inevitably dictates

the types of connections that different cultures have with the forest. In terms of forest use, there is an ideological scale, which is comprised of support for uncontrolled resource extraction as well support for preservation. However, there are also those who try to reconcile the ideological debate with arguments for conservation and sustainable use. Within this scale are dominant and marginalized discourses about forest use: there is "the interplay of competing activist discourses (i.e., the interplay of subordinate discourses and the disparate meaning systems reflected therein)" and the "discursive layers are ongoing and intertwined at all times" (Satterfield 7). The dominant discourses are perpetuated by groups of power: politicians, stakeholders, scientists, or corporate bodies whose force "derives in part from their ability to impose [their] construction[s] of reality as the natural order of things" (Philibert qtd. in Satterfield 266). In a study about identity and conflict concerning old growth forests, conduced on the South-West Coast, Terra Satterfield found that through her dichotomous approach that contested ideologies were related to differing identities (9). However, Satterfield also recognizes the importance of place, "all battles about the physical environment also come down to battles about place (whether real or imagined) and the ties between place and identity" (Gupta and Ferguson qtd. Satterfield 9). Additionally, constructs of space are seen as part of cultural activity (10). Place and identity are informed by the 'landscape,' but not in the sense that landscape is 'nature' or 'space,' but in the sense that landscape is the fusion of our inner and outer worlds (i.e. Tilley and Ingold). From the embodiment of landscape, comes a respective discourse, which can fall into categories of subordinate or dominant.

The dominant and subordinate discourses concerning forest use perpetuate the conflict of ideologies. Fawcett's text provides well-illustrated examples of these

contested ideologies, and by presenting differing ideologies he also argues for what Guattari calls a "resingularization" of ideologies. The first major example provided by Fawcett is through his meeting with forestry representatives. Fawcett examines a photograph of the Bowron clearcut in a forest service office: the representatives are proud of the work in the Bowron, and this exasperates Fawcett. Fawcett realizes there are different perceptions of the environment, which fall into the debate of preservation versus conservation; he writes "a chasm opens between us: these men believe that a forest is a resource only if it is cut and used. Somewhere along the line, I've come to believe that it is a resource only if it is left alone" (47). Fawcett believes that if the people of Prince George were able to see the Bowron, the aesthetics would produce an ethical reaction or what Guattari calls ethical content; however, the forest representatives do not agree. Fawcett says "I'd feel better if I thought people could see the clearcut from Prince George. People around here don't seem able to get their heads around it. I wonder what they'd think if they could?" In response to Fawcett's statement, the forest representatives say there were no other choices; it came down to use it or lose it[15]. The conflicting ideologies of Fawcett and the forestry representatives are emblematic of the ongoing debates around forest use in British Columbia. It is evident that somewhere between the two conflicting sides there is a need to recognize of each other's differing perspectives. There is a need to recognize the need for both social and environmental justice. Logging communities have a right to pursue economic sustainability; however for the benefit of not only the local community but for the planet, everyone has a right to environmental

[15] This is a very similar situation to what is currently occurring in Prince George. Many of those working in Forestry believe that there is a race to be won against the Pine Beetle.

sustainability. What we see between Brian Fawcett and the forestry representatives is rhetoric that falls into the discursive categories of extraction versus preservation.

During the 1990s the conflict between Greenpeace and BC logging companies such as MacMillan Bloedel defined the respective polarized ideologies: Greenpeace repeatedly told the public (on an international level) that companies like MacMillan Bloedel has "systematically clearcut vast areas of BC...[and]...is responsible for destroying communities, forests, and fisheries habitat across the province" (Greenpeace qtd. Stanbury 114). However, on the other side, companies, such as MacMillan Bloedel, have publicly said that environmental agencies (and environmentalists generally) threatening "jobs and communities...and ultimately forestry throughout Canada" and that environmentalists "undermine British Columbia's land use decision-making process" (Stanbury 93). In his book on forest conflict in BC, published in 2000, W.T Stanbury states, "Greenpeace' agenda would create a dramatic reduction in the size of the commercial harvests in Canada and [therefore will] increase pressure on forests elsewhere in the world. The impact on Canadian forest companies – and communities that support them – would be devastating" (Kimberly-Clark Forest products qtd Stanbury 93). The debate of economic growth/sustainability for the purposes of community longevity has become seminal for the pro-logging side. However, among environmental groups such as Greenpeace and those who adhere to similar ecocentric ideologies, there is a belief that despite what is good for community/cultural welfare there is no justification for current forestry practices and policies. Fawcett illustrates this ideology via a discussion with Paul Strickland of the Prince George Citizen newspaper.

Fawcett tells Strickland about his understanding of the natural world based on what he believes is the ideology of mainstream environmentalists. He explains, "mainstream environmentalists believe that the natural world is a complex but fragile organism...where a collapse in one part can cause a chain reaction failure throughout." He goes on to explain that '[w]hat theorists are saying about forests is that this isn't just an abstract notion, but a physical entity that actually exists in a quasi-conscious way" (130). Fawcett proceeds to call Strickland and the rest of Prince George "dipsticks" for treating the north like a "supermarket, a subsystem of a larger project that's to be used for buying and selling goods until it's used up" (130). Again, Fawcett has outlined the two competing ideologies at their extremes. On the one hand we have Fawcett who provides preservationist beliefs, and on the other hand we have Fawcett's interpretation of how things are perceived in Prince George. Mr. Strickland asks Fawcett about Prince George, and Fawcett's reply is that it is a city of "mark-makers...flatten[ing] landscapes, goug[ing] hillsides, and pollut[ing] of rivers..."(131). Yet, this is not the response Mr. Strickland is looking for necessarily; he tells Fawcett this may be how things are but only "until you get to the particularities...that's where things seem to break down. So many ways to go." (131). Fawcett admits that "exploitation is necessary" (131), but does not address the issue and remains focused on the task of describing the "conspiracy to transform the world into supermarkets and malls and to make clearcuts out of every forest" (131). The ways in which Fawcett and Strickland speak about the community are based on different lived experiences within a landscape, as De Certeau would suggest how they have turned a place into space. Though they speak of the spaces their experiences have created conflicting symbolic meanings. Both address the "loosely

structured system" which defines their shared culture – which is capitalism and globalization. There is a sense of ideological agreement because of the common understanding of shared cultural symbols: forests and their economic and aesthetic importance to community. However, because practice shapes the system and the system shapes practice (Ortner Anthropology 398), the shared cultural symbols have conflicting interpretations. There is a 'symbolic conflict', which is illustrated by the difference of discourse used by Fawcett and Strickland. Fawcett's symbolic interpretation comes from the perspective of someone living in the city of Toronto. Toronto is Fawcett's landscape, and Prince George for Fawcett is, in Virtual Clearcut, a place in which he uses as a jumping off point to retreat into wilderness. Unlike Strickland who lives in Prince George, Fawcett does not experience the activity and interactivity of Prince George as a resident. Therefore, what nature/forest means to Fawcett is different than what it means to Mr. Strickland.

What we see in the contested ideologies presented are discourses that come from two different symbolic structures – one informed by social concern and one informed by environmental concern, but as Guattari argues in order to deal with ecological or social issues there needs to be a "refoundation of politics...[That will] pass through the aesthetic and analytic dimensions implied in the three ecologies – the environment, the psyche, and the socius" (20). If there can be a day when we understand humanity's interconnectivity with nature and therefore landscape, in all its multiplicity, we will be able to readdress debates concerning forest sustainability. William T. Hipwell criticizes westerners for perpetuating "the way things are," but if the way we think about our environment in relation to how we think about each other, in terms of reexamining issues

of power and oppression, then praxis can reshape the system, thus practice can be reterritorialized and reinvented, resulting in the possibility of opening up a world of singularized subjectivity. Then in theory for instance, the north would be able to experience the revolution in mentality that Guattari calls for, and this could result in a shift towards an aesthetically/subjectively informed culture that seeks balance within its natural environment.

IV. The Garden – Reading Vancouver Island

In The Garden Club Kennedy produces a narrative that is thematically similar to Virtual Clearcut. Kennedy draws out the debate over resource use and smaller communities. He uses key political and historical cases concerning forest use. For this novel, there is an obvious connection between the actual political history of Clayoqout specifically with regards to the protests at Clayoquot Sound during the early 1990s. Much like Fawcett, Kennedy writes from the perspective of having local knowledge and though Kennedy's narrative is fictional, in many ways it mimics Fawcett's 'dogmatic documentation.' But most notably, like Virtual Clearcut, The Garden Club presents the interconnectedness of humans as a species and as cultural beings with ecology by presenting the ethics and social issues of the people of Upshot Island and their ecological relationships. The themes of ecological and civil change are illustrated objectively, while the characters' discussions, which place emphasis on the concern of humanity's role as environmental stewards, are subjective. The novel also illustrates an ideological dichotomization of nature and culture through the meta-narrative of logging. Furthermore, The Garden Club shows that there is value in understanding the natural world not only in terms of scientific views, which claim "to study nature as 'it really is'" (Sutton and Anderson14). However, the text also shows that the natural world is culturally constructed and that the natural world is as important to ideology. Therefore, how a culture thinks about its resources exemplifies the natural world as a 'cultural subject' (14). Strikingly similar to Brian Fawcett's Virtual Clearcut, Kennedy's novel illustrates issues of ecological and civil damage somewhat objectively (from a scientific

point of view based on statistics and facts); however, the characters' discussions, which place emphasis on the concern of humanity's role as environmental stewards, are subjective (rooted in conversations of ethics, aesthetics, and morality). The novel takes place on a fictional island (Upshot Island) off the west coast of Vancouver Island. The majority of the Upshot Island residents belong to a gardening club, which becomes divided over the political responsibility of the island residents to stop the logging taking place on Vancouver Island's "Kumquat Sound" (based on Clayoquot Sound). The protagonist J.J. struggles with his involvement in the logging protests, and similar to Fawcett in Virtual Clearcut, with each journey to the clearcuts J.J. unfolds the connections between nature and humanity. The major themes that Kennedy draws on are: social ecology, logging, environmentalism, and community relations.

The post-pastoral quality of consciousness presented in Kennedy's novel illustrates how a mental ecology recognizes and problematizes human thought on nature and, additionally, allows us to consider how nature affects how we think (Guattari 21). As I suggested earlier, how people conceptualize ecology can greatly differ, and it is the differing conceptualization that is problematic. It is readily evident that there are still many people who simply see nature as something "out there," and the ways that they experience their landscape appear detached from nature, as was illustrated in Fawcett's discussion of the swimming hole in Salmon Valley. Bourdieu wrote about practices that fall into the catergory of the doxa – the things we do without questioning. Can we consider littering, or even conspicuous consumption, as examples of what could at times or are currently in the doxa category? For instance, these actions and ideas were not condemnable thirty years ago – they went unquestioned; however, changes in cultural

structure have changed beliefs and maybe now they can be considered as passing or passed through the orthodoxy category, because such practices can now be condemned. Those caught up in old orthodoxy are the people who now appear detached from nature and it is, for example, such un/conceptualizations of nature that are problematic.

West Coast Resource Based Psyches

In The Garden Club, like Fawcett's Virtual Clearcut, I noticed many post-pastoral qualities that could be expanded upon if considered as part of the three ecologies; specifically the novel illustrates how consciousness is expanded upon through the process of "resingularization" and "deterritorialization-reterritorialization" of environmental ethics. The Garden Club's central theme of political and ethical divisions moves through a production of subjectivity. In the novel, existential experiences are the fulcrum for changing and establishing ethics, and furthermore, subjectivity singularizes the characters' ecological ethic, and therefore produces new realities. Here reality is "a projection, reflection, and production of thought" (Berthold-Bond 4). Though the characters demonstrate a multiplicity of subjective understandings of nature, there remains a collective understanding of ethical responsibilities. The Garden Club illustrates how becoming ecologically conscious through validating personal subjective understandings of ecology, can manifest as a collective effort where (on a small scale) subjectivity is resingularized and ends in reterritorialization, which results in a collective mico-revolution/cultural movement for most of the residents of Upshot Island. This example of cultural movement can be considered as a form of agency related to practice. This instance of resingularization and reterritorialization is connected to the relationship between agency and praxis. In its simplest form questioning and reshaping

practices as an individual can result in the eventual change of cultural structure in itself, and this is evident in the Garden Club.

In The Garden Club, logging is not only a meta-narrative used to demonstrate the ecology and culture of Vancouver Island but it is a depiction of the actual environmental changes that have taken place. Gifford suggests that those who garden "gain some sense of themselves, of their own cycles of growth and decay, and of their emotional ebbs and flows" (156). Additionally, we gain self-awareness and understanding through our natural settings. In her book What Gardens Mean, Stephanie Ross suggests that the spatial location of gardens are in themselves sites which foreground self-identification, and like people they change, but because of their fixed location they are treated as "persisting" (9). In The Garden Club, not only is J.J capable of self-identifying with his garden, but he also acknowledges how local cultural changes have affected him. The development of gardens is culturally specific and often is influenced by both economic and religious cultural and personal ideologies (Hunt 9). The narrator's garden is furthermore emblematic of both ideological categories, exemplifying another instance of human/nature interconnectedness.

The central theme of gardening in The Garden Club and Kumquat Campaign illustrates such an interconnectedness, which produces self-awareness and even mental wellness. For the narrator, the relationship of internal/external nature is most evident at the end in the correlation between garden and emotional changes. He rejoices for his garden is blooming, nature's changes provide some happiness in a difficult period of his life. At the end of the novel, although under house arrest, J.J is allowed to tend his garden for an hour a day and "the short jaunts through the garden are thrilling expeditions into the voluptuous beauties of May" (206). J.J states that he has turned his "private prison into a paradise"

(204). Previous to his arrival on Upshot Island, J.J was a Catholic brother in Toronto Ontario, and throughout the novel he constantly contends with leaving and still living a pious life. Found throughout the novel, religious imagery parallels both personal and environmental illustrations. J.J contends with not only environmental ethics, but also with his religiosity. When J.J accepts his ethical position regarding ecology, he is able to accept his religious position. By the end of the novel, the application of religious imagery to his garden exemplifies reconciliation of religious self-understanding. At the beginning of spring, the purple clematis blooms; he illustrates this flower as having petals "like the trumpets of Angels, royal purple in their depths, downy soft" (206). J.J's understanding of his flowers symbolizes understandings of himself and his personal cultural connections. This is emblematic of his struggles with environmental ethics. The central theme of gardening illustrates the connection between self-identity and a physical connection with the natural world. J.J acknowledges emotional ebbs and flows, as well as cycles of growth and decay. He directly acknowledges a "sense of himself" in his garden. At the end of the story J.J relates self-understanding through an illustration of the changes in his garden.

In the novel, several of those who garden experience changes on the psyche and instigate social change when cultivation of the garden becomes synonymous with preservation of the earth. Attempting to motivate the club members to participate in an act of civil disobedience against the clearcutting at Kumquat Sound, Mistral Wind, a new age visionary leader, gives a speech to the club. She begins by discussing the meaning of history and religion in gardens and concludes by drawing a connection to the "the sacred groves where people go to worship...[that are now] bare hills baked by the sun" (Kennedy 23). Mistral Wind's attempt is the resingularization of the subjectivity through

the analogy of gardening. She is attempting to create a collective ideology regarding gardening as synonymous with environmental ethics. Mistral believes people will change how they deal with environmental crises if she establishes a collective understanding whereby the people of Upshot are able to relate to her on a personal level. Using gardens as analogous to forests, she believes she can change contesting ideologies.

After Mistral Wind's motivational speech, eighty-year-old ex-logger, Waddy Watts, makes a motion to send a delegation of club members to be arrested at Kumquat (25). The novel focuses on the protests and arrest of protesters, providing a shadowy reflection of the actual events that took place during the early 1990s in Clayoquot Sound on Vancouver Island. Though environmentalists had kept a watchful eye on Clayoquot Sound since the mid 1980s, it was 1991 and 1992 that major social action took place (Wilson 236). By the end of 1992, over 800 people had been arrested at the logging protests and the clearcutting of Clayquot Sound gained international attention (Reed 4). Kennedy draws on this historical event to show how community comes together. This coming together is another way of understanding Guattari's concept of the 'resingularization of subjectivity.' Yet, in The Garden Club total resingularization of subjectivity of the ethics of logging does not occur, but rather the club as a collective becomes divided. Again, as we saw in Fawcett's narrative, the divisions are a product of an inability to agree on general beliefs about forest use. However, those who collectively agree produce social uprising. Both these novels' examinations of conflicting ideologies, respectively, are examples of how the society is affected by the environment. Environmental matters produce cultural divides. The club members vote for a common understanding of the society constitution, and agree their mandate is "to do whatever else

in the opinion of the membership shall be deemed appropriate for advancing the well-being of flora generally" (26). This occurrence falls into the post-pastoral characteristic of recognition of environmental consciousness. In the ecosophic sense, this consciousness is collective and predetermines forthcoming ethical deliberations. However, for the narrator, J.J, he initially is neither with nor against the collective. He must first find, as Gifford suggests, consciousness.

Consciousness, for J.J, is the product of two post-pastoral considerations: nature as humbling and recognition of an internal/external connection with nature. Reconstructing ecological ideologies, and J.J's in particular, where nature becomes humbling, is an instance of the correlation of the three ecologies and the post-pastoral as well. J.J, who experiences nature as humbling, is eventually forced to self-identify with nature. Upon arrival to Kumquat, J.J says "standing beneath the trees I became aware, perhaps truly aware for the first time, of how small I was, and how quickly passing a human life is" (74). J.J's experience of self-identification contributes to the production of the ecosophic object [new ethical standings] as a result of both cultural and psychic changes. This textual example mirrors post-pastoral discussions that examine the interconnectedness of internal human nature, people as animals, and external nature (nature around humans). These discussions suggest, that as part of the organic world, humans are capable of gaining self-understanding by being "'corporally embedded in the landscape'" (Abram qtd. Gifford 156). When J.J feels insignificant in comparison to his natural surroundings, he gains a better understanding of himself. J.J addresses self-humility by acknowledging the power of nature and he finds this humbling. Gifford suggests that those who live among nature or animals "gain some sense of themselves, of

their own cycles of growth and decay, and of their emotional ebbs and flows" (156), resulting in self-understanding, as we see with J.J acknowledging humility. In the ecosophic sense, this post-pastoral characteristic is another instance of the production of psychic changes.

However, this initial instance does not provide full consciousness for J.J., and he must undergo several transformative ecological/existential experiences. These experiences come in the form of re-experiencing nature whether through gardening or protesting, as well as in the form of gathering new ideas from friends or community members. In the beginning of the novel J.J is reluctant to see the connection between gardening and 'saving the forest'. At the Garden Club meeting Mistral Wind makes her first charismatic appearance, drawing connections between being gardeners of flowers and food and being gardeners of the forest. This idea is debated among the community members at the meeting, and at first J.J does not want to see the connection. By the end of the novel J.J completely self-identifies with nature, which allows him to reconcile with both the occurring social and psychic changes. His subjective understandings of nature arise from spiritual-ecological connections. Though never outwardly stated, much of J.J's observations are connected to religious symbolism. The more religious connections J.J makes, the closer he comes to a new eco-ethical understanding. For instance, he makes observations on the state of the clearcut landscape; he states that he "can certainly sense a landscape laid waste all about [where] malignant forces seem to lurk just beyond [...] crouching in dark shadows" (114). He senses "the legion of darkness, the servants of the evil one: fallen Lucifer, Asmodeus, Beelzebub" (114). J.J makes references such as these throughout the novel; however, it is not until the closing of the story that J.J finds

complete reconciliation between multiple subjectivities. This will be addressed in the forthcoming section of "the environment."

West Coast Resource Based Socius

The post-pastoral, Gifford argues, weaves concerns of minorities and women into ecological discussions. In The Garden Club and the Kumquat Campaign, those who oppress nature are also those who oppress others in subordinate positions (e.g. women). Conflict (between those working on the cutblock and those protesting at the cutblock) first takes place between several angry drunk men and a few women. The loggers in this particular situation heckle and physically threaten the female protestors (107). One logger says to the female protesters, "whatsa matter, Honey...You rather hug trees than a real man?" (108). When several of the male protestors arrive to mediate the conflict between the loggers and the female protestors, the situation escalates; by having male counterparts the loggers can now both physically and verbally harass the group. Although the men arrive 'to save the day' they do not demonstrate any more power than the women. When the protester men arrive to look into the situation, one of the loggers calls them the "rescue squad" (107); however, the protesting men are paralyzed and silenced by their fear of the loggers (108). It is not until the arrival of Mistral Wind that the conflict ceases. Standing on a tree stump she begins to "wail, keen like a banshee" (109). The event, illustrated as moving and surreal, produces for J.J an image "of many voices, thousands of people lamenting, of all the women raped and men murdered in brutal wars. The innocents of the ages that have suffered and died at the hands of violent men" (109). Furthermore, J.J envisions "The mangled stumps of trees in the clearcut

ris[ing] up like corpses on the day of the dead, joining the terrible lament rising from all the earth, crying to heaven (109). The parallel between the oppression of people and the exploitation of the forest is clear, and though men are identified as the oppressor, the narrator does suggest that it is not all men, but "violent men" in particular who oppress (109). Many ecofeminists have used the same language to speak of women's oppression as they do of environmental degradation: "she [earth] was stripped of her magical powers and properties and was reduced to 'natural resources' to be exploited (King 20). The earth has been seen as feminine, as passive, as exploited by the hands of 'men.' However, Kennedy has presented a different view of these prescribed characteristics. Though he still speaks of the earth as feminine, it is active and powerful. Furthermore, by not ascribing power to gender but to the earth itself Kennedy begins to illustrate the ecocentric understanding that though humanity may think it has control of the earth it is much more powerful than us. The simple act of addressing nature as powerful removes anthropocentric concerns. Furthermore, by addressing social and ecological issues as synonymous, this reference is neither anthropocentric nor biocentric. This is a new consciousness that J.J gains; the debates are beyond dichotomous interpretations of women/man, nature/technology.

Gifford explains that "[t]he gift of conscience, [from] the form of consciousness of our species, must address both environmental and social exploitation at the same time if there is to be social justice *and* a place for it to be practiced" (Gifford 165). Furthermore, Gifford continues to explain that "together" is a key word; drawing from post-feminist discourse, he states the importance of including men as well as other species in the establishment of an eco-centered culture (165). These post-pastoral

indicators can be placed within the definition of the Ecology of the socius. To reiterate, ecology of the socius is the collection of particular cultural elements (such as local economies, globalization, and in this case social justice), and is discussed in relation to ecology (Guattari 21), which results in the deconstruction of dualistic arguments over culture/nature. Because nature has been generally understood in objective terms and defined as that which is 'natural,' there has been an ever-expanding gap between the ontologies and epistemologies of nature and culture (Demeritt 778). However, reading The Garden Club in an ecosophic/post-pastoral sense, and examining the interactivity that defines a landscape, provides an understanding of how ecology of the socius combines both social and environmental concerns, while also deconstructing the ontological and epistemological gaps.

The book finishes with poignant comments on the connection between society and ecology, and specifically the connection between social and environmental degradation. Those from the garden club who protested at Kumquat Sound after their arrest are tried in court. During the trial, J.J is the first to illustrate the social/ecological connection when he speaks to his sentencing. He says to the Judge "I respectfully submit that no right-thinking citizen can in good conscience sit idly by while the last fragments of these amazing ecosystems are being systematically demolished in the name of corporate profit" (196). J.J's comment begins to shed to light on the connection between capitalism and resource management. Capitalism, as a cultural construct, is often considered as a negative social determinant; capitalism contributes not only to ecological destruction via resource extraction but also perpetuates gaps in status and class (Johnston 229). However, the statements proceeding J.J's, made by Caitlin and Elvira, further

illustrate the connection between social and environmental disintegration. J.J's friend and love interest Caitlin, speaks to her sentencing next; she says,

> the rainforest valleys [are] living, pulsing systems powered by rain -'amazing places,' among the richest, rarest, and most complex ecosystems on earth...And we are battering them down, for what? Toilet paper? Telephone directories? Daily newspapers full of violent trash that are perused in minutes and thrown away?...Do we want to be damned for fools by our children? Are we not the guardians of the earth they will inherit? (197).

Caitlin draws a connection between cross-generational education, consumerism and ecological responsibility. After Caitlin, Elvira speaks (another member of the garden club and Kumquat protestor). Elvira, as a First Nations woman, draws a connection between the colonization of the forest and the colonization of her people; she comments on "the devastation of the forests and rivers and native communities" (197). Furthermore, she states "No court in this country...could impose a punishment that's harsher than seeing what they're [logging companies/government] doing to the forests and the creatures and the people" (197). The connection between First Nations women and the treatment of landscape is another example of how this book can be read as a post pastoral text. Gifford's sixth characteristic of the post-pastoral, which focuses on the discussion on the "gift of consciousness," presents the argument that "concern for the exploitation of people (in terms of gender, class, and race) must accompany concern for the environment (in terms of species, elements, and atmosphere) and vice versa" (166). Characters such as Mistral Wind and Elvira can be understood in terms of making this

connection. Each of these women can be seen as bridging issues of social and environmental justice.

West Coast Resource Based Environments

As I stated in the previous chapter, the environment is the place that we inhabit; it is comprised of both the biotic and abiotic. Gifford's post-pastoral definition also recognizes nature's cycles (creative-destructive universe). For Gifford, ecology of the environment is rooted in the cycles of life. Additionally, the external biotic affects the human biotic, such as health and wellness. For Guattari the definition of environment, connected to subjectivity, is rooted in the world's natural processes. In The Garden Club, Kennedy draws on both the human connections to the natural world as well as the processes taking place therein. The discussions of the biotic world primarily concern either the forest or the garden, and these two natural settings are comparable in their ecological illustrations.

J.J realizes when standing beneath some cedar trees that "for the fist time, of how small [he] was, and alone, and how quickly passing a human life is" (74). Gifford suggests that by contemplating ecological processes one can come to understand human biological processes. For example, J.J thinks about the "sheer enormous bulk of the trees. Trees big in the way that whales are big, or waterfalls" (74) and realizes how a human life span is insignificant in comparison. Aside from aiding self-realization, the forest, as in Fawcett's work, also acts as a site to illustrate ecological damage.

When J.J and his friends from the garden club arrive at the logging protest site they are located in the middle of an "obscenely big clearcut" (90). The area is described

as "...flat, a sea of blackened stumps" (90). As J.J looks out to the mountains, he notices that they too have been clearcut. A posted sign says "welcome to the black hole," providing a sense that though they are in an area that was once forested it is now a wasteland (90). J.J sums up the imagery of the landscape, saying that it is

> a charred landscape of logging debris. Huge stumps sprawl like the severed hands of thieves, their fingers still clawing at dirt and rock. Scrubby willows and red cedar saplings push up gamely here and there among the heaps of blackened debris. Back beyond, a row of mountains looms over the camp like heaped enormous corpses. The slopes have been clearcut from top to bottom. You can see the scars of logging roads and rockslides etched across the mountains. (92)

As stated earlier, in some ways Kennedy's novel is like Fawcett's Virtual Clearcut because the representations of the ecological damage that takes place in Kumqout Sound as a testimonial documentary for what actually occurred in Clayoquot Sound. The average size of a clearcut on Vancouver Island is approximately 32 hectares (Forestry in British Columbia 6). Before the protests there were lax policies concerning the amount of harvesting, where 81% of Clayoquot Sound was assigned to 'forest management' (i.e: logging and other industry uses), but the protests cut this number in half. At the height of the harvesting of Clayoquot Sound, Greenpeace argued that that MacMillan Bloedel had "systematically clearcut vast areas...destroy[ing] communities, forests, and fisheries habitats" (Stanbury 114). The language Greenpeace used to strike up international boycotts is comparable to the language J.J uses to describe the land: hyperbolic and very graphic.

Despite his observations J.J does not feel completely moved; he still questions why he has come to protest. However, the more J.J begins to understand the landscape in his own terms the more affected he is by the clearcuts. It is apparent that logging has made a "grotesque" landscape (126) and has had ecological ramifications, such as rockslides. Though Kennedy does not provide any scientific data on environmental damage in this novel, the subjective illustrations of an over-logged landscape can influence a reader to worry about the environmental impact that has taken place.

Contested Ideologies: Preserved West Coast Landscapes

The culture of Upshot Island can been seen as defined by landscapes and symbolic common understanding; the community lives within their surroundings, which is seen in the connection between the role of gardens and gardening to cultural identification and though the connection of logging and the importance of logging to west coast communities. The connection made in the novel between forests and communities is further illustrated by the comparison drawn between tending the personal garden and tending the greater, earthly garden -- the forest. However, despite the people of the community sharing a common interest in gardening, they speak past one another on how environmental ethics play a role in their community, therefore stalling the "resingularization of subjectivity". By presenting the residents of Upshot Island as having conflicting opinions, Des Kennedy attempts to capture the conflict that actually took place in Clayoquot Sound during the early 1990s.

Though there were so many participants in the protests at Clayoquot Sound, those protesting against the protesters have been given little acknowledgement. Maureen Reed

in her book Taking Stands: Gender and the Sustainability of Rural Communities illustrates that the livelihood of communities is equally important as the preservation of forests (5). Reed provides further clarification of how debates concerning forest use develop by drawing on the concept of interconnectedness. Our understanding of landscape gives us a sense of a particular type of community. According to Reed, a "forestry community" is one that "binds together three related ideas: territory, interest, and attachment" (7. As stated in the previous chapter, Terra Satterfield, in her book The Anatomy of Conflict, recognizes the connection between environment, identity, and contested ideologies: she states, "all battles about the physical environment also come down to battles about place (whether real or imagined) and the ties between place and identity" (9). In the article Baby Stumpy and the War in the Woods, Lorna Stafanick points out that contested ideologies over forest use are a product of not only immediate cultural factors, but also part of a "legacy of a broader set of ideas embedded in Western Culture" (42). How people have lived within a landscape has been passed down generation to generation, and this informs current interpretations of landscape, which thus becomes a product of culture; these variables, of place, history, culture, and lived experiences perpetuate local contested ideologies (Ingold "Temporality").

In The Garden Club J.J represents one side of the argument, but many members of the garden club are on the other side of the argument. They question whether it is their duty or right or place to get involved in the protests at Kumquot Sound for a variety of reasons. At the meeting where Mistral Wind initially rallies the garden club, Geoffrey Munz, a garden club member says "however much we may as individuals sympathize with this particular issue…I believe it to be incontrovertibly the case that the constitution

of this society expressly limits the activities...to horticultural matters on or near Upshot Island" (26). Though Kennedy never gives his readers an explicit answer as to why Geoffrey challenges the motion to become involved in a protest at Kumquot. As such it is evident that environmental ethics are still not necessarily inherent simply because a personal relationship exists with the organic world; not all aspects of nature are seen through an aesthetic lens and this limits the chance for the resingularization of subjectivity.

There are several characters that are against the campaign for Kumquot. Aside from Geoffery Munz there is Karl Muhlbacher; though a gardener, he only plants Dahlias, "his idea of a garden is several hundred dahlias all lined up in straight rows...Karl marches up and down his Dahlia rows like the Iron Chancellor preparing for war. Anything untidy, anything disorderly or unruly, drives him into a cold fury" (35). Karl's limited view of what constitutes a garden is an inversion of the post-pastoral understanding of nature; in the post-pastoral sense nature is chaotic and unruly, and this is why the post-pastoral experience is defined by humility. Karl is a reflection of people who though apparently connected in some way with nature they in reality are not connected except in self-centred non-responsible ways – the way forestry workers are often portrayed. When Terra Satterfield conducted her ethnographic research of the sub-cultural differences between loggers and environmentalists, she found that when a group of school aged children were asked to define loggers some made comments such as "uncaring," "want[ing] to keep their jobs," (5). These comments about loggers are the stereotypical representations. Maureen Reed offers another understanding; rather than looking at contested ideologies as two sides of a debate, it is necessary to look at how a

person dwells within a landscape. Reed shows, from a feminist perspective, how people who are part of the logging industry have actually been active and motivated environmental stewards and played an important role in shaping environmental politics. Reed suggests that this is a product of "multiple subject positions" (16); in essence as Guattari may have seen it, this is a product of recognizing the multiplicity of subjectivities. Those who are part of the logging/forestry industry have environmental motivations.

The central character, J.J, illustrates that there is a multiplicity of interpretations. J.J in the beginning is conflicted; his best-friend and secret crush, Caitlin, helps Mistral Wind spearhead the campaign, but J.J does not truly see eye to eye with Caitlin. J.J feels as though the campaign is a waste of effort and time; after appearing interested in the campaign to Caitlin, he later confesses to Elvira "it won't make any difference to anything," showing his true feelings (38). However, J.J is deeply connected with nature, especially on a spiritual level. This is how and why J.J becomes truly conflicted. The new way that J.J dwells within the landscape (living at the peace camps in Kumquot) begins to change his perspective on environmental ethics. However, it is the over all pastoral manifestation that shapes J.J's final perspective. By retreating to Kumqout and returning to Upshot J.J understands his environments and the people within those environments differently. At the beginning of the novel J.J is the only one who abstains from voting on whether or not the garden club should send delegates to Kumquot, but by the end of the book he is one of the most passionate protesters, and this results in his journey ending in house arrest. However, J.J would have never reached such conclusions if was not for the passionate views of his closest friends. I believe that the changes in

how J.J feels about environmental ethics are an example of one of the many ways that agency and praxis create structural changes. By becoming a part of the interactivity of differing landscapes J.J experiences and becomes a part of praxis – and overall this led to cultural mobilization that changed how the community in Kennedy's text addressed/thought about landuse.

Though this novel, like Virtual Clearcut, appears to favor the arguments derived from a perspective of someone who sees the forests for leisure/pleasure use rather than resource extraction, by focusing on the subject of logging we can begin to construct the debate surrounding forest use. Though Kennedy does not construct the other side of the debate (a debate which focuses more on economy, community, and conservation rather than preservation), a reader can still receive this other perspective. In the novel the loggers fight back against the protesters, though it is never said why. I assume however, that fighting back was a result of having their community and livelihood threatened. Economic well-being plays an important role to the well-being of any western community. However, the same goes for the protest – no one in the delegation to Kumquot actually states why they are protesting – except J.J who is admits he is there out of embarrassment, out of peer pressure. However, again by considering how characters dwell within their environment, we are able to construct how contested ideologies can split a culture, and though they are all interconnected with the forest, their inability to recognize multiple subject positions and to reconcile these positions hinders dialogue and any chance for the "resingularization of subjectivity." Furthermore, in the novel, the splitting of a culture can be seen as tied to symbolic conflict, whereby there are challenges and changes to what is considered doxa, orthodoxy, or heterodoxy.

Additionally, agency became praxis working at both the individual and community levels. In the end, there was a collective understanding about ecological responsibility and this reshaped practices and developed new practices, and as such created everlasting changes to the communities.

Conclusion

In this thesis I have integrated theoretical considerations of culture from Practice Theory with psychoanalytic considerations from French philosophy and ecocentric considerations from postpastoral analyses. Bridging theories and disciplines allowed me to examine the multiplicity of ways that British Columbians are interconnected with the province's forests. As such, I have illustrated how the province's/nation's/planet's social and ecological welfare are interconnected. By examining cultural texts such Fawcett's Virtual Clearcut and Kennedy's The Garden Club with specific attention paid to the pastoral format of retreat and return and with careful consideration of Felix Guattari's Three Ecologies, while also considering cultural practice/praxis and cultural conflict, I hoped to clarify how many BC communities are so deeply interconnected in so many different ways with the province's forests. For me, it has also become clearer that because of how our predecessors and we have lived within particular spaces, the construction of landscape is varied and the respective discourses about the landscape are diverse. Though this has lead to contested ideologies of forest use, it is readily apparent that the longevity of the forests is equally important to all those reliant on it for either resource or leisure use. But it has also become evident that there needs to be a fundamental change in Western thought that will lead to the "resingularization of subjectivity" to bring together the polar understandings of forest use. Gupta and Ferguson wrote that the "reterritorialization of space forces us to reconceptualize fundamentally the politics of community, solidarity, identity, and cultural difference" (37). Governments, communities, logging companies, and protestors, have all played a role in the reterritorialization of space; they are all determining factors in cultural

development/mobilization. At times, these elements are evident in Fawcett and Kennedy's narratives, whereby politics have been considered, especially in terms of cultural difference. In the end, it has become apparent to me that culture should be seen as a site of difference and contestation, but at the same time there is a thread of commonality. This commonality is based on Guattari's argument for the "resingularization of subjectivity" and the three ecologies: in one way or another, we would all understand that "the ecological crisis can be traced to a more general crisis of the social, political, and existential" (Guattari 119). Though our subjective understandings of the environment would be multiple, there would be a thread of commonality in that these subjective approaches are encoded with responsibility.

Forest use in BC has gone through three major shifts; the first paradigmatic shift was rooted in logging. Up until the 1960s there was relentless extraction and processing, but with publications like Rachel Carson's Silent Spring (1962) and a growing international awareness of the need for ecological responsibility, forest use/forestry practices began to change, especially with the implementation of protected spaces; the second paradigm of forest policy was to "emphasize the idea of multiple uses of forests. It held that forest policy should reflect other values besides timber extraction" (Stanbury 13). The third paradigmatic shift was during the 1980s and 1990s, with movements such as Clayoquot Sound, whereby people pushed for more than recognition of multiple uses of the forest, and recognized the urgency to implement sustainable practices, advocating either preservation or conservation. Are we on the road then to finding a thread of common understanding? Can we begin to move toward implementing the next 'paradigm', an ethico-aesthetic paradigm, where the "resingularization of subjectivity"

encourages ecocentricism? I believe we are approaching this new era, and have begun to understand that subjectivity is essential to ecological well-being. We have gone past the point of relying on science, and have begun to understand the importance of recognizing our ecological interconnectedness. Yet, Neil Everden says this is more than a "casual interconnectedness" (95). It is an interconnectedness that functions both in a micro and macrocosom, on both local and global levels.

In this thesis I examined this subject from one perspective, the perspective of contested western ideologies concerning forest use in two BC Communities. However, the role of minorities in these debates needs to be further investigated. Maureen Reed has been examining the role of women in resource based communities and their connections to ecological preservation and has begun to look at the differing positions of power women have taken concerning forest use and forestry policy – whether it is protesting logging or protesting the restrictions placed on logging. Aside from Reed though, there is still a major lack of research looking at the debates from First Nations' perspectives. For instance, what about generalizations about First Nations peoples' roles as environmental stewards? Especially in terms of logging, activist groups such as Greenpeace appear to be advocates of First Nations communities, as in the case of the protests they spearheaded in Bella Coola. Greenpeace built their international campaign on a cultural assumption that the community would want nothing to do with logging in their area, which ultimately made Greenpeace appear as if it was denying the First Nations of Bella Coola a fair right to BC's economy (Stanbury 86). Aside from looking at different cultures or northern resource communities, I believe that it would be beneficial to apply the concepts of how economy affects culture to a cross comparison of the West Coast and the East Coast.

Will Canada's West Coast logging communities one-day resemble Canada's East Coast fishing communities? Though there are so many other avenues that could be explored regarding the connection between culture, space, and place, I believe that looking at narratives from similar perspectives and places provides a varied and deep understanding of culture on a macro-scale, yet by examining narratives that represent communities in different ecoregions, I have been able to gain a deeper understanding of the nuances of multiple and contested ideologies. Most importantly though, it has become readily evident that it is not useful to criticize differing ideologies concerning forest use; we must pay attention to our overall current social, political, and existential crises. By acknowledging the threefold crisis, we can look forward to a future that considers the role of subjectivity in a culture that appreciates difference and multiplicity, yet at that same time is a culture that shares a thread of commonality in considerations of ecological and social responsibility.

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